

IN THESE TIMES

An actress' tragedy
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50 Cents

A SPECIAL REPORT ON THE BLACK MOVEMENT

DIVIDED THEY STAND

DOES 'INTEGRATION'
MEAN PERMANENT
POVERTY FOR MOST
BLACKS?



Illustration by
Tom Greensfelder

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Xuan Thuy, vice-chairman of the National Assembly, former Chief negotiator in Paris, talks with Cora Weiss.

A report from Vietnam

Are the fruits of the long Vietnam war turning bitter? Vietnam has become embroiled in an ugly border war with its erstwhile allies in Cambodia. It is locked in controversy with China, which claims Vietnam discriminated against Chinese residents during its campaign to wipe out private trade in Vietnam. In a manner reminiscent of Soviet actions toward China, China has withdrawn its aid and advisers from Vietnam and is closing down Vietnamese consulates. Vietnam is also facing potential food shortages as its development plans have fallen short.

Cora Weiss, who for many years was one of the most outspoken and effective critics of American involvement in Vietnam, has just returned from her fifth visit to that country. She was participating in a delegation from Church World Service, an agency of the National Council of Churches, for which she has been working as a consultant. CWS sponsored a 10,000 ton wheat shipment to Vietnam as a gesture of friendship and to help alleviate the food shortage.

During her 16-day stay, Weiss had the opportunity to travel all over Vietnam and to discuss with government officials the current situation. She was interviewed upon her return by Richard Goldensohn, a New York free-lance writer who was formerly an editor of *Seven Days*.

This was your first trip to Vietnam since re-unification in July 1976. What changes did you see?

The bomb shelters in Hanoi are closed. There are now flowers growing out of those little round holes that used to be along the streets every three or four feet for people to jump into when the sirens blew. The "Hanoi Hilton," the old POW camp, is now a TV studio. Bureaucracy is flourishing everywhere.

In the South you can walk through the streets without stepping over thousands of street vendors selling Sony equipment and BVD underwear. Women are not standing in the doorways waiting to pick up every passing male. Not because the women are gone but because the market is gone.

Saigon, or Ho Chi Minh City as it is now called, which used to be one of the noisiest and most polluted cities in Asia, is quieter. There's a gas shortage, so there aren't too many cars.

How did all these changes come about in Ho Chi Minh City?

All this really took place in the course of only a month. On March 23 of this year, mass meetings were held around the city and people were told that the "day of inventory" had come. This day was to mark the "social transformation," as it is called. It wasn't a shock. The warnings took place over a period of time through resolutions passed in the State Assembly, the Peoples Council, and news on the radio and in public meetings.

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Chinese charges.

What was the idea behind the "day of inventory"?

This was the opportunity for the new government to break the back of the ring of corruption that had controlled a parallel economy in Ho Chi Minh City. It controlled food purchasing and selling. In particular, the Cholon market there had a corner on the rice market and the government hadn't been able to buy rice from the farmers at a low enough price. The March 23rd action actually did break into the ring of corruption and confiscate goods from the hoarders. They were given some compensation in the form of savings account deposits they could invest in productive enterprises.

What about the charges of persecution of the Chinese population in Vietnam?

There is no campaign against the Chinese in Vietnam. There is a campaign against corruption, not just in Cholon, but throughout the country. There have been cadre in the North as well as the South who have been caught in this campaign and have been embarrassed by it. The idea is simply to stop people getting ripped off, to insure that everything must be equitably distributed.

How then did these charges about the Chinese arise?

The people most involved in this activity in the South happened to be Chinese. They were the big businessmen, although that's all relative, since if you put together all their holdings it wouldn't, as one person said to me, "build a big industry."

Several weeks ago China issued a statement saying that Vietnam was expelling the Chinese. Later Xuan Thuy, who is now the Secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly, later issued a statement in which he said that the Chinese were "free to go" if they wanted to, that Vietnam wasn't expelling them, but that they would no longer tolerate corrupt behavior.

As a result of Xuan Thuy's speech, a number of Chinese started lining up at the Chinese embassy in Hanoi to get visas. People say that there are 80,000 or 90,000 who are going, and that's probably accurate. But you have to remember that there are 50 million people in Vietnam, so the rate of emigration is not all that significant.

As for why the Chinese are leaving, the general view seems to be that there is a rumor very much at large in Vietnam that there is going to be trouble someday between Vietnam and China and that you might as well get out while the getting is good. The Chinese may worry about what could happen to them if there was war in the same way that the Japanese who lived in this

country during World War II had reason to worry.

Why, then, is China denouncing Vietnam now?

I think that China wants to cut out a world for itself, and it needs allies and turf. I guess they see Vietnam as an ally of Moscow, although Vietnam would like to be independent of Moscow too. So many things that China has done recently are knee-jerk reactions against Soviet policy.

American vindictiveness.

How does the U.S. attitude toward Vietnam affect their current situation?

I think that the longer the U.S. refuses any form of recognition of Vietnam, including trade relations, the hotter the tension between Vietnam and China will become. The U.S. could be a peacemaker in this situation and could help the Vietnamese to maintain their independence if it wanted to. The U.S. could begin to trade with Vietnam without committing itself to diplomatic relations, as it now does with China.

Why doesn't the U.S. do this?

It's not because the business community is against it. In fact, this month a delegation from the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong is visiting Vietnam. I think it's partly because we never lost a war before and we really can't tolerate that. Some of it is just the same kind of vindictiveness that led the U.S. to try to kill Cuba with a trade embargo. It didn't work, but we still haven't learned the lesson.

Do you think there is actually somebody sitting around Washington worrying about how to conduct this campaign of revenge against the Vietnamese?

Yes. I think there are a lot of people. It's the department that holds the world in check by manipulating power. I think that Mr. Brzezinski is the minister of that department.

For example, the 10,000-ton wheat ship that Church World Service sent to Vietnam would normally have the freight paid for by the U.S. government since it was a humanitarian gift from a voluntary agency. However, when we applied for this freight re-imbursement, we received a reply from James Gilligan, the head of AID, saying that after consultation with President Carter and Secretary [of State Cyrus] Vance, we would not get it.

Agriculture the priority.

Can you tell us something about why there is a food shortage in Vietnam today?

Continued on page 8.



Cambodian soldiers who were caught encroaching on Vietnam's territory are held in a former ARVN military camp in Xuan Loc, not far from Ho Chi Minh City.

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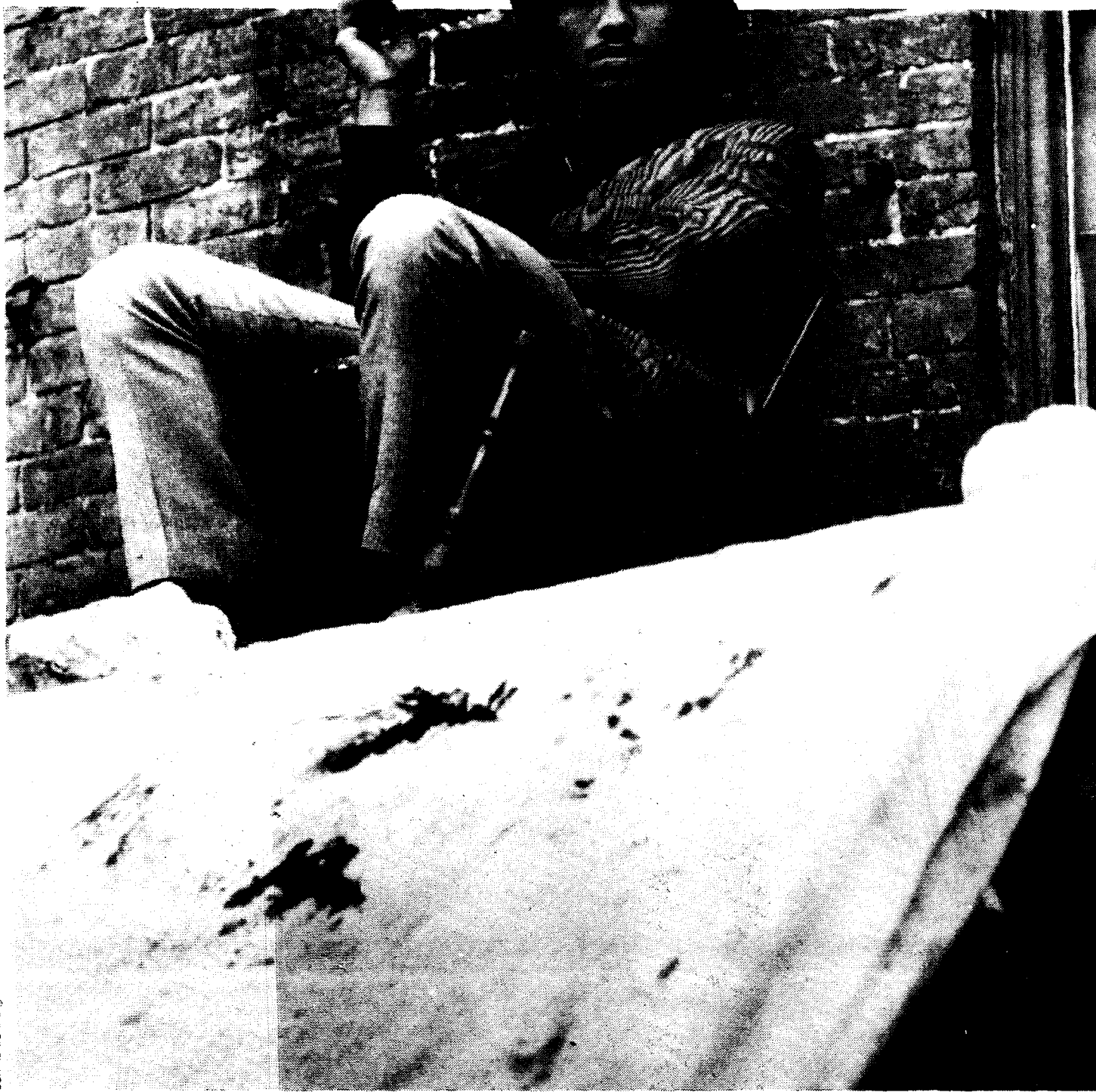
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IN THE NATION

HOUSING



The housing crisis is so severe in Boston that residents, like the one above, have started to occupy abandoned buildings.

Business counterattack sets back rent control prospects

By Peter Dreier

LAST SEPTEMBER LAURA RUSSO, an unemployed mother of three, moved into a five room apartment in Somerville, Mass., a working-class city of 80,000. The landlord had promised Russo that he would make necessary repairs before she and her three sons moved in. But when the day arrived, "the house was the same as before," she says. "You wouldn't believe the mess it was in."

For \$175 a month rent, the Russo family lived with holes in the wall, chipped paint, a leaky stove, windows without locks or weatherstripping, broken faucets, a broken furnace and a cellar that flooded. During the winter fuel bills averaged an additional \$130 a month, while the Russos hung blankets on the windows and slept in their overcoats.

Fed up with her broken apartment and the landlord's broken promises, Mrs. Russo finally called Somerville's rent control board.

The board rolled back the Russo's rent to \$115—where it stood before she moved in—and allowed her to stop paying rent until the landlord brought the apartment up to building code standards.

Rent control didn't turn Mrs. Russo's apartment into a luxury high-rise. But it did provide some relief to a woman who lost her factory job several years ago and lives on AFDC and her son's part-time job.

Mrs. Russo is hardly a unique case.

As the price of apartments has soared to record heights in recent years, rent control is making a comeback in many American cities.

Boston first introduced "second generation" rent control (which exempts newly-constructed buildings) in 1969. Since then four other cities in Massachusetts as well as Miami Beach, the District of Columbia, two Maryland counties, three Alaska cities, and 130 New Jersey municipalities have followed Boston's lead. Several California towns have rent control ordinances covering mobile homes. Tenants' groups in El Paso, New Orleans and elsewhere are organizing around rent control through city council laws or ballot initiatives.

Business counterattack.

Feeling the heat from tenant groups and sympathetic politicians, real estate, landlord and business groups have begun a counterattack to abolish or weaken rent control where it already exists and to stop it elsewhere before it gets passed.

In Boston and Somerville, Mass., property owners sought to do away with rent control, but tenants' groups forced a compromise. Both cities now have "vacancy decontrol," which allows landlords to set new rents (which then become subject to controls) whenever a new tenant moves in.

Boston's mayor Kevin White last fall released a report written by his housing advisor Andrew Ohlins that recommended the ending of rent control in that city. Massachusetts Fair Share, a community group whose members are predomi-

nant working-class homeowners, and the Boston Committee for Rent Control challenged the report and forced White, facing a tough re-election campaign next year, to back down and keep rent control intact.

In New Jersey landlord groups have brought suits against local rent control laws—challenging the formulas for administering rent increases—in the state's courts.

Real estate groups have kept rent control out of Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Madison, Seattle and elsewhere, but it is in California that the showdown has been most dramatic.

In that state both tenant and landlord groups are well-organized. But the latter has used its greater financial resources to defeat rent control initiatives in Berkeley in April 1977 and in Santa Monica and Santa Barbara June 6.

Ideal conditions.

Both sides saw the Berkeley campaign—where landlord groups spent more than \$150,000 (about \$8 per vote, 80 percent from out of town) to defeat rent control—as a testing ground for the more recent battles in Santa Monica and Santa Barbara.

Conditions in those two towns were ripe for rent control. Both are medium-sized coastal cities that have experienced enormous land speculation in recent years. As a result, tenants (who make up 80 percent of the population in Santa Monica and 60 percent in Santa Barbara) have faced spiralling rent increases. In addition, both

For increasing numbers of poor and fixed income tenants, rent control is one of the few options that can offer relief.

cities are strongholds of progressive political activity, including the Campaign for Economic Democracy that emerged out of Tom Hayden's unsuccessful Senate bid two years ago.

Santa Monica and Santa Barbara rent control advocates tried to learn from the Berkeley defeat. "We judiciously avoided the tactical mistakes of Berkeley that scared away a lot of people who might have been our allies," explains Carry Lowe, a staffer with the California Housing Action Information Network (CHAIN), a statewide group that works with local rent control advocates.

First and foremost, the Santa Barbara and Santa Monica proposals—like those in most rent-controlled cities—exempted small "Mom and Pop" landlords who live in their own buildings under four units, thus focusing controls on the larger property owners. New construction was also exempted—a tactic to avoid the hostility of the building trade unions.

In addition, the Santa Barbara and Santa Monica measures called for an elected rent control board, to take appointments out of the hands of an unfriendly mayor or city council. Following rent control guidelines elsewhere—except New York City—the ballot measures in Santa Barbara and Santa Monica did not propose to freeze rents but to set limits on the size of rent increases allowed each year.

In both cities rent control activists started early, mounted a grass roots precinct-by-precinct campaign, and raised considerably more money than their Berkeley counterparts. They set up organizations that, they said the day of the defeat, would continue to organize around tenant and housing issues.

But their business-backed opponents—the Santa Barbara Housing Council and the Santa Monica Residents and Taxpayers Committee, set up specifically for this campaign by large apartment owners, banks and realtors—simply outspent them.

These groups raised over \$200,000 in Santa Monica and about \$180,000 in Santa Barbara to finance slick direct mail, telephone and media campaigns. They also had the help of the California Housing Council (CHC), a new statewide organization of large property owners, which raised \$400,000 to fight rent control. The rent control advocates, in contrast, relied on volunteers and small contributions, managing to raise about \$10,000 in Santa Monica and \$21,000 in Santa Barbara.

But the biggest obstacle facing the rent control advocates was bad timing. They had the unfortunate fate of going before the voters the same day as the successful Jarvis-Gann measure rolling back local property taxes. That triggered a strong voter turnout among conservatives, homeowners—who were also told that rent control would shift taxes to them—and Republicans—who were also faced with a hotly-contested gubernatorial primary.

"Voters were in an anti-government mood," explains Linda Lillow of the Santa Barbara Rent Control Alliance. "They

Continued on page 5.

LABOR

NYC construction unions in trouble

Long the bastion of unionized construction, NYC's unions now face unprecedented problems and setbacks.

By Ruth Shereff

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY HAS ALWAYS been the bastion of organized labor in the building trades. To think of its construction unions is to think of established and conservative power. When Nixon wanted a Secretary of Labor in 1972 who would appeal to union chiefs without antagonizing big business, he chose Peter Brennan, president of New York City's AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council. When anti-war demonstrators marched on Wall Street in 1970, a band of 200 hard-hats attacked the parade.

Now the power of New York's hard-hats is being challenged. New construction is at virtual standstill. During the past four years unions have witnessed high unemployment, declining membership, increased competition from non-union contractors—particularly on rehabilitation work—wage cutbacks and demands for changes in work rules.

In 1970—the year that hard-hats were busy on Wall Street—17 office buildings were completed in New York City, creating a glut of office space in the mid-'70s. By 1976 the figure had dropped to two closings with only one office building scheduled for completion in 1979.

Nixon's cutoff of federal subsidies for low and middle income housing construction in 1973 compounded the problem. New York's fiscal crisis and a coinciding flock of bankruptcies among real estate investors left half-finished public and private projects abandoned all around town.

Hard core unemployment in construction unions amounts to 40 percent, according to Ed Cleary, the secretary-treasurer of the local AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council. Another 12 percent are employed in union-contracted jobs in Iran, Canada and other states in the U.S. Membership in the unions has dropped from a high of 200,000 when construction was booming in the mid-'60s to 98,000 in a five-year steep decline.

Non-union competition.

To make matters worse, non-union labor now has a foothold in the trade. Rehabilitation of old structures is the only work around, and rehab became the province of non-union firms and workers (mainly minorities) during the '60s and early '70s. During that period the unions put their members to work on skyscrapers and ignored the small jobs.

And even unionized contractors admit to hiring non-union labor for jobs that require less skill. Where highly skilled journeymen are needed, unemployed union members often put their cards in their pockets and go to work.

Ed Cleary is a member of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. "If we are not picketing or organizing a job site," he says, "we turn our heads when the members work for non-union pay."

Competition from non-union labor is so severe that several unions have agreed to pay cuts on rehab work. Last November the Bricklayers Union decided to reduce wages by 14 percent. The shift away from brick to precast concrete and metal sheeting adds to that union's trouble.

In December 1976 seven unions, including the bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters and electricians, agreed to a 25 percent



"Who wants to join a union that can't get them a job?" union officials ask.

wage cut and longer hours in order to stimulate government subsidized housing rehabilitation. In theory, the wage reduction was supposed to be limited to a demonstration project.

But once the agreement was signed the Department of Labor lowered the Davis-Bacon rate for all city rehab jobs. The federal Davis-Bacon Act mandates that the local prevailing wage (by trade) be paid to all construction workers on federally funded sites.

Although the unions renewed the agreement in December 1977, Cleary was bitter about the cut. "We hoped suppliers, banks and contractors would follow suit with a cut in profits, so that housing work could really get underway." Instead, contractors in the private sector are insisting on a similar arrangement without new construction.

In midtown Manhattan the old Shelton Towers is being converted to a luxury Howard Johnson Hotel—Holloran House. Masontenders there told me they had taken a 25 percent pay cut and suspected that other unions inside had done the same.

Local 3 of the Electrical Workers would not have it; Teamsters Local 363 is doing the job. For ten years the Teamsters competed for Local 3's jurisdiction, but only now is the lower Teamster wage scale paying off.

Contract negotiations with most of the unions are now underway—although several of the contracts expired last June. Management is pushing for changes in work rules including an end to paid wash-up time, longer hours, especially during the summer (some unions have a five-hour day), flexible shifts and an end to feather-bedding.

Who wants to join?

What about organizing the non-union sector as a solution? "Who wants to join a union that cannot get them a job?" John Murray, head of the local plumbers, asks. "Many of our members are leaving town and when they take a non-union job, they don't run to tell us about it."

But Jim Haughton, who spearheaded many of the drives to integrate construction unions, says, "They don't want to bring in all the blacks and Puerto Ricans who work on non-union sites."

When I visited him in his Project Fight-back Harlem office, Haughton was writing letters to Robert Georgine, president of the National AFL-CIO Building and

Construction Trades Department, and to Peter Brennan, inviting them to cooperate with community groups to bring more housing subsidies into the city. He never got an answer.

That is unfortunate, because organized community and minority groups and the unions are scrambling for the same dollars and jobs. The massive push to get minorities jobs in the construction field subsided when the recession hit. But when work picks up again, blacks and Puerto Ricans will demand that neighborhood residents be employed on ghetto sites.

A potential conflict between ghetto organizations and the unions may flare up when federal funds for rehabilitating the South Bronx—a totally burned out disaster area—come through. So far, officials mapping the South Bronx rehab project have made no attempt to involve unions in the plan.

Yet few civil rights activists want to hurt the unions. As one carpenter put it, "Everyone wants to be in the union. It's paradise. Without the unions we would be working for a dollar an hour and the boss would have a whip."

But unless the construction unions stop dreaming of the past and figure out a strategy for dealing with non-union labor here, the paradise of union wages and working conditions may be lost.

Construction is due to pick up in New York City in 1980. Labor leaders feel their skilled work force, available through the hiring halls, will put them at an advantage. But non-union firms are already entering the field and growing.

In other cities the battle against non-union contractors has already been lost. In New York it is still up in the air.

Ruth Shereff covers labor for WBAI radio in New York.

ELECTIONS

A balanced slate in South Carolina

By Steve Hoffius

CHARLESTON, S.C.

WHEN WALLACE SUPPORTER-turned-populist Tom Turnipseed (ITT, Apr. 26) dropped out of the June 13 Democratic primary for the South Carolina gubernatorial race because of heart problems, the state elections lost much of their spark.

Turnipseed was forthright, unafraid and not tied to the traditional Democratic Party leadership. He strongly supported the state's unions (South Carolina has the 49th lowest rate of unionization in the nation) and was endorsed by the state AFL-CIO. He attacked the utility companies, the Senate seniority system, the textile companies; he denounced racism and sexism and spoke repeatedly of the need for working class blacks and whites to work together against their common enemies; he complained of the phone

company's excessive rate hikes, and a week before his exit the company raised the deposit on his phone by \$1,000.

The three remaining candidates were all mainstream Democrats. Former state senator Richard Riley gained most of the Turnipseed support (the candidate himself refused to endorse anyone), including endorsements from Turnipseed's wife Judy and his law partner, Bruce Dew, and more than 20 Turnipseed issues researchers and advisers.

Riley, Jimmy Carter's state campaign chairman in 1976, encouraged the notion that he supported Turnipseed's stands, just not his fiery style. That pushed the point a bit, but Riley did come closest of the three to Turnipseed's politics.

He offered support for the state's thousands of brown lung victims, criticized the textile companies for allowing unhealthy conditions to continue, and admitted that the companies could fight the disease without going bankrupt.

"The next decade," he said, "will see

Rent Control

Continued from page 3.

believed the propaganda that rent control would mean another government bureaucracy costing them money rather than see it as a way to limit rent inflation."

The rent control initiatives lost by 55-44 percent margin in Santa Monica and 63-37 percent in Santa Barbara.

Business groups dismiss rent control advocates as idealists with little understanding of how the housing market operates.

"Rent control is just the tail-end of the anti-war movement," says the CBC's Dienstfrey. "They're just looking for enemies. 'Greedy landlords' are always a good target. They talk in terms of housing as a 'right.' But they don't consider the cash-flows."

Mostly, however, the real estate groups claim that rent control simply doesn't work. In their anti-rent control campaigns they argue that rent control scares potential builders and mortgage-lenders away and thus stifles new construction, exacerbating the already acute housing shortage, especially for the poor. They also complain that rent control keeps landlords from earning a "fair return," because expenses go up faster than rental income. Thus, they warn, landlords spend less to repair and improve buildings, and walk away from buildings that are no longer profitable. Finally, rent control opponents claim that it erodes a city's tax base by causing a deterioration in housing supply and property values.

To prove their points, rent control opponents cite the research of Professor George Sternlieb of Rutgers University, who has studied the rent control experience in Boston and Fort Lee, N.J. His research, which has received wide acclaim from economists, housing officials, real estate organizations and the news media, concludes that rent control has been a "disaster" and "unworkable."

But a recent report for the California Department of Housing and Community Development by sociologist John Gilderbloom questions the views promoted by Sternlieb and other rent control opponents. Gilderbloom re-examined the studies by Sternlieb and others, and conducted several of his own, to reveal that the facts don't support the opponent's conclusions.

Statistical juggling.

Gilderbloom, reached in his office at the University of California at Santa Barbara, accuses Sternlieb of "juggling statistics" to reach preordained conclusions.

"He [Sternlieb] obtained most of his information from the very real estate organizations that hired him, funded his studies and now use his findings to lobby against rent control," Gilderbloom says.

Sternlieb's Boston study examined only 14 real estate management firms or individual owners and his Fort Lee study looked at only 11 high-rise luxury apartment buildings. "Neither are typical of the buildings that fall under rent control," says Gilderbloom.

Gilderbloom compared cities with and without controls. His report takes a more balanced view of the effects of rent control.

First, Gilderbloom discovered, rent control does not hinder new construction. In fact, new construction rates have actually increased faster in rent controlled communities because the rent control laws exempt new buildings from controls.

Second, according to the report, rent control does not lead to lower maintenance, dilapidation and abandonment of buildings, as landlords claim. Under rent control, landlords are allowed to pass on increases in taxes, utility and maintenance costs to tenants.

What Gilderbloom found was that in similar cities and buildings without rent control, rent increases far outstrip increases in landlords' actual costs. "Rent control only stops rent gouging," Gilderbloom says, "not a 'fair return.'"

In some cities, landlords cannot receive their rent increases unless they comply with local housing codes and keep the building in good repair. "Some rent control boards are more lax than others on this," Gilderbloom admits, "but there is no economic reason why rent control should lead to lower maintenance."

Gilderbloom discovered that Sternlieb used a statistical sleight-of-hand (often used by landlords) to conclude that landlords' costs rose faster than rents. When he calculated the landlords' "total increase in expenses," Sternlieb included maintenance, utilities and taxes (which have all increased substantially) but he left out mortgage payments (which remain the same over time and account for one-third to one-half of a landlords' expenses). By recalculating the figures to include mortgage payments, Gilderbloom found that landlords had seriously overestimated their cost increases. (He also discovered that in Sternlieb's Ft. Lee, N.J., study, landlords substantially under-reported the rents they collected.)

Finally, since rent control does not adversely affect new construction, maintenance or abandonment, there is no evi-

Ken Firestone



dence that rent control erodes a city's tax base by decreasing the size or value of its housing stock. Of the more than 100 rent-controlled cities in New Jersey, for example, only seven have had a decline in their total tax base since rent control was introduced. "Not one of the tax assessors in those seven cities blamed rent control for the decline," Gilderbloom reports.

Controversial study.

Gilderbloom's study has triggered considerable controversy, especially in California housing circles. The real estate industry has attacked the report itself and the state agency that sponsored it.

The news media in California and elsewhere hastened to accept the real estate industry's viewpoint. The powerful *Los Angeles Times*, as well as the local dailies in Santa Monica and Santa Barbara, strongly opposed the recent rent control initiatives, echoing the industry's rhetoric. *Business Week* interviewed Gilderbloom last fall for a story on the "ground swell" of rent control activity around the country. But when the story appeared (Oct. 24, 1977), it repeated the housing industry's views—even quoting Sternlieb directly—but ignored Gilderbloom's evidence.

"Personally, I think rent control is idiotic," says Jack Patterson, the *Business Week* editor in charge of the story. "It's just liberal nonsense." (Patterson claimed nevertheless that there was no bias to the story. "I was exercising my news judgment about what's important.")

Despite all the academic studies and the news media coverage, however, rent control is primarily a political issue. Success or failure depends on how well tenants and their allies organize.

"Rent control offers an immediate benefit to people. It gives people a certain amount of control and security over their housing that they didn't have before," says Boston's Achtenberg, who has writ-

ten extensively on rent control. "It shows how the housing system works. So it provides a basis for organizing and common action."

New Jersey provides the best example. The statewide New Jersey Tenants Organization—the nation's largest and most powerful tenant group, made up predominantly of middle-income members—is primarily responsible for that state's widespread (130 municipalities) rent control ordinances. But they have pushed further, lobbying the state legislature to enact some of the strongest tenant-landlord laws in the country.

New Jersey has passed laws that prohibit eviction of tenants for complaining about housing conditions, that permit courts (with the tenants' permission) to collect rents until landlords make repairs, that prohibit landlords from refusing to renew leases without "just cause," and that force landlords to pay tenants interest from their security deposits.

Rent control, its proponents agree, is only a stopgap measure. It is no substitute for a real solution to the housing crisis—more construction of low- and moderate-income housing and the rehabilitation of existing substandard housing.

But until the federal government shifts priorities to meet the nation's critical housing shortage, rent control will protect tenants from profiteering real estate speculators and landlords. It will also help to stabilize neighborhoods that are now victims of high tenant turnover.

Somerville's Laura Russo, for example, now works with the Somerville Tenants Union to keep the Board of Aldermen from abolishing rent control.

"Without rent control they're gonna charge all the rent they want," she says. "There's a lot of people who can't afford it. There's a lot of people who are gonna be hurt."

Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University.



Charles "Pug" Ravenel

South Carolina faced with a workforce which will not accept the working conditions imposed on previous generations. Riley was the last to make a stand on the issue, just one week before the voting. Riley, from the textile-rich town of Greenville, had sought money from the local

mills and reportedly released his statement about brown lung when they produced only \$10,000.

Riley also endorsed a ceiling on utility company profits, lifeline utility rates for the elderly and disabled, elimination of fuel adjustment clauses, increased public school funding and free textbooks.

In the three-way election, Riley trailed Lieutenant Governor Brantley Harvey 37.4 percent to 32.8 percent. The two will meet in a runoff June 27, with both of them hoping to draw the supporters of the third candidate, William Jennings Bryan Dorn. Shortly after the election, Dorn encouraged his supporters to back Riley in the runoff.

The Republican candidate, Ed Young, is not expected to offer strong competition to the Democratic contender. But four years ago Republican candidate James Edwards was also seen as only a minimal threat for the Democratic nominee; today he sits in the governor's mansion. That election, though, is considered a fluke, in that Edwards won only after his original opponent, Charles D. "Pug" Ravenel, was eliminated for not meeting residency requirements.

Ravenel, a former Wall Street investment broker, stayed in the state after that election and entered the U.S. Senate race for the seat now held by Republican Strom Thurmond. In the Democratic pri-

mary Ravenel easily defeated three contenders and took 55 percent of the vote. Many supporters, however, had hoped for as much as 60 percent of the total, and saw the decreased numbers as indicative of Thurmond's continued support in his old party (he has alternately run for office as Democrat, Dixiecrat and Republican) and of the traditional Democratic enclave's anger over Ravenel's refusal to endorse the man who replaced him four years ago, Dorn.

Supporters of Ravenel point to polls that have consistently shown Ravenel faring better in a head-to-head match with Thurmond than with a number of Democratic candidates. "It looks to be about even right now," says Ravenel's wife Molly, a mainstay of his campaign. "The balance all seems to be in the hands of the independent voters, the ones who don't identify themselves as either Republican or Democrat and didn't vote in the primaries."

Ravenel has strongly opposed the development of nuclear power, the development of the state's Barnwell nuclear reprocessing plant, and has supported greatly increased funding for solar energy; he backs cuts in military spending, has encouraged the settlement of unionized industries in the state, and supports the Labor Reform Act and "the most stringent standards for brown lung," says cam-

paign manager Beegie Truesdale. Thurmond has disagreed with Ravenel on all these issues.

Should Riley join Ravenel on the Democratic ballot after the runoffs, many supporters look to what they call a "balanced" slate. Nancy Stevenson, state representative from Charleston, faces state senator Horace Smith of Spartanburg in next week's runoff for lieutenant governor, considered a stepping-stone to the state's number one elected position. Stevenson led in the primary balloting, and is expected to pick up many of the supporters of the third-place finisher, Sen. Tom Smith of Florence, probably the most liberal of all three candidates, who had the AFL-CIO's backing.

Should she win, she would be the first woman ever elected to state office in the Palmetto State. At the same time, James Clyburn, chairman of the State Human Affairs Commission, faces former Columbia mayor John T. Campbell in the runoff for secretary of state. If elected, Clyburn would be the first black elected to statewide office since Reconstruction.

Tom Turnipseed may have taken most of the fire out of the election when he dropped out, and the strongest stand on the issues, but he certainly hasn't left the South Carolina elections dull.

Steve Hoffius is a Charleston, S.C., book-seller and free-lance writer.

IN THE WORLD

SPAIN

Steve Nelson



Delegates meet at the Ninth Congress of the Spanish Communist party.

Communists, king embrace democracy

By Wilfred G. Burchett

M A D R I D

THE TWO EVENTS, UNTHINKABLE only a few years ago, when Generalissimo Francisco Franco still ruled Spain, were more than coincidental.

They epitomized a growing "convergence" of political agreement between the left and right in Spain, which is accelerating and stabilizing a smooth switch from decades of fascist dictatorship to parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy.

Recently, almost at the same moment as "La Passionara" (Dolores Ibarruri), the 84-year-old legendary anti-Franco revolutionary leader and chairperson of the Spanish Communist party, advanced through cheering delegates to the tribune of Spain's first legal Communist party congress in 46 years, the country's centrist government, with the approval of King Juan Carlos, was putting the final touches to a bill to abolish the death penalty.

It was an appropriate measure of the success of liberalization here since Franco's death. While permitting leftists who were formerly persecuted to meet freely and openly, Spain's government has condemned to death the garotte—one of the world's most barbarous instruments of execution—(the victim dies by mechanical strangulation)—and a symbol of the harsh repression of the old regime.

Carrillo praises Premier.

Spain's Communist party leader Santiago Carrillo, a major exponent of moderate Eurocommunism, lost no time, as the congress opened, in helping "convergence" in Spain converge a little more.

In the first minutes of his two-hour report, the Communist party secretary praised Spain's Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, a close confidant of the king, for having resisted pressure from both West German Social Democrats and Dr. Henry Kissinger to postpone for several years legalizing the Communist party, which was totally banned here following Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War in 1939. "We must recognize," Carrillo told the delegates, "that the understanding and decisive attitude of Premier Suarez was among the factors contributing to our being legalized."

As Carrillo spoke, Spain's centrist government was demonstrating its "understanding and decisive attitude" toward yet another group that, under Franco, would have faced only repression, and perhaps the garotte. It approved measures granting autonomy to Andalusia, as it previously had approved pre-autonomy measures for Catalonia and the Basque region, Euskadi, both long subject to stern rule from Madrid.

Victims of the old regime now have many such milestones to celebrate as democracy takes hold in Spain. And at their ninth congress, Spain's communists celebrated in style, in the Melia Castilla Hotel, one of Madrid's swankiest.

Democratic revolution.

It was a moving spectacle—with plenty of smiles and tears—to see old militants, separated by decades of jail and exile, meeting again and swapping experiences. The great moment of the opening was the appearance of Dolores Ibarruri, waxen-faced, with pinched cheeks, but the inner fires that won her the name of "La Passionara" still smoldering, as she responded to the tumultuous welcome.

The speeches, debates and votes were more, however, than a celebration. The congress witnessed a major triumph for moderate Eurocommunism. Typical of how far Spain has travelled recently, it also resulted in Carrillo's party formally renouncing ideological dependence on Moscow, and in becoming the world's only communist party that supports a king.

There in fact had been much speculation that Carrillo's continued leadership might be in doubt because of his ardent espousal of Eurocommunism. Controversy over the leadership's commitment to moderation appeared to reach the flashpoint when Carrillo proposed what would be ideological treason in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. He advocated dropping the "Leninist" part of the party's "Marxist-Leninist" title in favor of calling the movement a "democratic and revolutionary Marxist party."

Many independent-minded delegates from Catalonia—traditionally Spain's most revolutionary province—and veteran miners from the Asturias, where trade union movements were long suppressed—found this hard to swallow.

So Carrillo's proposal that the party

Wilfred Burchett, present at many a Communist congress, calls the recent Spanish one the most open ever.

explicitly put democracy before revolution in its official title was the most hotly debated issue. But there was no question that Carrillo's formula would win the most votes, especially when "La Passionara" herself—the very symbol of Spanish left-wing resistance—endorsed Carrillo's proposal on the eve of the congress.

On the question of Eurocommunism itself—the rejection of Moscow as the center of world communism, and of East European "models" for a socialist society, and insistence on the total independence of each Communist party—the Carrillo line met with no opposition, in spite of days of very open and free debate.

Support for the King.

Carrillo also won congress approval for Spanish communist support for Spain's King Juan Carlos I. "If the monarchy favors the consolidation of democracy," Carrillo told the delegates, "it would be a grave mistake to imperil the democratic process by questioning the form of regime."

He went on to make it clear that King Juan Carlos—scion of Europe's ancient Bourbon dynasty—would continue to enjoy his support so long as the king supported democracy. A "problem would be posed," Carrillo said, "if an autocratic monarchy prevented the democratic and parliamentary process. But if the monarchy is not an obstacle to carrying out what the people democratically decide," he emphasized, "the Communist party will not challenge the present monarchic form of regime."

This was a major concession to "convergence"—the emergence in Spain of a broad democratic consensus—or what Carrillo calls "national democratic concentration," whereby different political ideologies agree on the rules of the democratic game, while agreeing to disagree on specific policies.

Spain in fact has witnessed an astonishing meeting of political minds, and the new spirit of toleration and respect for political rights was shown in the arrange-

ments for the congress itself. Communist leaders from all over the world were allowed to enter Spain with a minimum of red tape. Delegates and guests were protected by the same Spanish police who a few years ago were zealously hunting down communists and their supporters.

While sympathizing with those who lament the slowness of change in Spain, Carrillo thus strongly defended what the country has achieved so far. "We have won freedom of the press, freedom of association, the right to demonstrate and to strike," Carrillo pointed out. "We have got the prisoners out of their jail cells. We have a government which, despite its shortcomings, is no longer that which a short time ago considered itself answerable only 'to God and History,' but one answerable to deputies elected by universal suffrage and to public opinion."

Denunciation of terrorism.

The Congress also had some other surprises, at least for those unfamiliar with the Spanish brand of Eurocommunism. One of the greatest ovations came on the second day of the congress, when Nicolas Sartorius, a member of the central committee, fiercely denounced political terrorism. He condemned groups like those that recently kidnapped and killed Aldo Moro in Italy as "the sworn enemy of the working class" and said their action only could benefit the enemies of democracy.

Perhaps the most controversial element in Carrillo's approach—one that risks criticism from orthodox Marxists, but that is central to his Eurocommunist concept—is his handling of the question of class struggle. In a break with the doctrinaire communist approach, Carrillo won party support for class cooperation, and repudiated the class conflict hardline Marxist consider inevitable.

"We do not see the class struggle in which we are engaged through the old optics of 'class against class,'" Carrillo declared. Instead he—and his party—be-

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ZAIRE

'Cuban threat' masks Western designs

The real adversaries in the second Shaba War were the Belgian backed rebels and U.S.-French banking.

By Diana Johnstone

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION's refusal first to disclose, and then to credit, Fidel Castro's warning against last month's rebel attack on the Kolwezi mining center in Zaire's Shaba province, suggests two hypotheses: first, that the U.S. had no need of such warnings, being already informed of the pending "second Shaba war"; and second, that the U.S. and other Western powers are determined to use the Soviet-Cuban scare as a pretext to institutionalize Western intervention on the African continent, regardless of the facts.

Following the *New York Times* report on June 11 of the Castro warning, French press reports on the second Shaba war have provided a plausible explanation of why Castro would not have favored the operation.

The second invasion of Shaba (formerly known as Katanga), like the first one in March 1977, was the work of the long-lived personal army of Nathanael Mbumba, originally a mercenary force in the hire of the Belgian Gecamines corporation that exploits the province's immense mineral resources. In the early '60s, the role of Mbumba's "Katanga gendarmes" was to suppress followers of leftist Patrice Lumumba and back Moshe Tshombe's attempt to pull off the secession of Katanga from Zaire (then Congo) on behalf of the Belgian mining interests. When another scheme prevailed and Zaire was unified under President Mobutu Sese Seko, Mbumba moved his army to neighboring Angola, where it was promptly hired by the Portuguese to help put down the Angolan liberation struggle led by the Angolan People's Liberation Movement (MPLA).

The American press, typified in this cartoon, has accepted the Carter administration's claim of a Cuban threat. Diana Johnstone casts doubt on this claim.



Mixed reactions.

In April 1974, Mbumba's reactionary Portuguese patrons were overthrown by Portuguese officers radicalized by costly colonial wars and friendly to the MPLA. Mbumba turned with the tide, and ended up fighting for the MPLA against Holden Roberto's Angola National Liberation Front (FNLA), based in Zaire and backed by the CIA. This switch was all the easier in that Roberto was an intimate protégé of Mbumba's old enemy, Mobutu.

The presence of Mbumba's private army on Angolan territory has continued to pose problems for the Angolans. Before independence, secret attempts by Portuguese officers to negotiate a deal with Mobutu for the "gendarmes" safe return to Zaire fell through. Continued harassment of northern Angola by Zaire-

based FNLA commandos has provided Mbumba's forces with an ongoing defense job on behalf of the Angolan government of Agostinho Neto.

After 1974, Portuguese officers, the MPLA and finally the Cubans undertook to give Mbumba's fighters an anti-imperialist political education. Under this influence, which may not have gone deeper than rhetoric, Mbumba's force renamed itself the Congo National Liberation Front (FLNC) with the avowed aim of liberating Zaire from Mobutu.

However, Mbumba reportedly remained deaf to Angolan and Cuban urgings that he ally with left-wing opposition groups in Zaire. Instead, according to French television journalist Jean-Francois Kahn, he secretly contacted Gecamines executives to let them know he was still basically their man, rhetoric aside. All this

explains logically enough why both the Neto government and Castro strongly opposed Mbumba's invasion of Shaba last month, and why Belgian reaction to French intervention was mixed.

While opposition to the Mobutu regime is widespread and heartfelt among Zaire, as seen in the warm welcome given the Shaba invaders by the local African population, the real battle in that unfortunate country is probably not yet between the people and their corrupt rulers.

France vs. Belgium.

Suspicion has been voiced in some quarters that the second Shaba war really pitted Belgium against France, or more precisely, Belgian mining interests that would not at all mind a Shaba secession that would dispense them from having to deal

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ISRAEL

'I, as Defense Minister, will prepare for war'

By Gidion Eshet

JERUSALEM

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE between a "permanent status" and the "future relationship" when the issue is the occupied territories? According to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, a willingness to discuss the permanent status of the territories means in fact that Israel considers the lands it liberated in 1967 as negotiable. Therefore, reasons Begin, the phrase "permanent status" is anathema to Israeli policy and should be rejected.

Defense Minister Ezer Weizman thinks differently. The difference is what the U.S. is asking for while "future relationship" will increase tension between the two countries.

This obscure subject was on the cabinet's agenda for the last three weeks. It all started with two questions the U.S. posed to Israel. First, is Israel willing to negotiate the future of the territories after a five-year period of autonomy? Second, what is the mechanism to resolve the problems of that distant future? Like any lousy teacher the U.S. supplied the recommended answers, which basically Weizman approved of and Begin rejected.

Israel was led to believe that approval of the American worded answer is President Anwar el-Sadat's condition for reach-

ing a separate agreement with Israel. Weizman, who has better relations with Sadat and is willing to "give a lot" for such an agreement, wanted a positive response to the U.S., but Begin had the upper hand. Fourteen ministers voted with Begin, one, Weizman, was against and four abstained.

Weizman to West Bank.

Begin's victory is therefore clear. It did not seem so initially. At the first cabinet session on the subject three drafts were presented. One by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan was similar to Weizman's. The third was Begin's negative response, which was forwarded by his colleague, Minister Haim Landau. Three ministers approved of Weizman's or Dayan's version. But when voting time came, all—led by Dayan—chickened out, leaving Weizman in the political wilderness.

Israel is thus willing to negotiate its future relationship with the territories, which, according to Begin's interpretation, means only the status of the Palestinian population and not Israel's right over the land in question.

What does a defeated politician do, says a current Israeli joke: He goes to find comfort in his constituency. The day after his defeat, Weizman toured the West Bank and made some practical concessions previously rejected by Israeli governments. In Hebron he told the local mayor that the famous Dr. Natche and

the local Mufti (religious leader), who were deported several years ago, can return to the West Bank.

Natche is considered one of the leaders of the Communist party and was deported when the military governor feared he could win the Hebron mayorship in the elections against the pro-Hussein notable Ja'Abri. Ja'Abri, however, lost the election to Fahed Kwasm, a Natche supporter.



Moshe Dayan consoles Defense Minister Ezer Weizman

But more important was Weizman's concession in Nablus. This town suffers electrical supply shortages. For two years the local mayor, Essam Shaka, requested permission to import two new diesel generators to be financed by some Arab states. The Israeli government objected. It wanted Nablus to be connected to the Israeli grid. Shaka rightly opposed this demand on political grounds. He argued that, although Israeli electricity is cheaper, the Israeli-imposed scheme has far-reaching political meaning.

Even the rather liberal new military governor would not approve Shaka's request when asked to do so two weeks ago. But Weizman overruled him and approved the purchase of the generators. Going back to the joke, Weizman's constituency praised him. Mayor Shaka said, "No more Mamnou, Mamnou [forbidden] to whatever the mayors say or do."

Weizman's deeds could make him the territories' candidate for the premiership of Israel. But his own party—Herut—led by Begin, dislikes him more and more. Some senior members have called upon Begin to dismiss him. His relations with Begin are strained.

Weizman, who refers to Begin as "The Deceased," said after the cabinet session that Begin and Dayan have, by their response to the U.S., opened the way for the next war. "I, as Defense Minister, am going now to prepare the army for this task," Weizman was heard saying. ■

Troubled Vietnam

Continued from page 2.

Vietnam used to be Asia's largest rice exporter. With the war and the forced urbanization policy of the Thieu regime in the South, much of the land was left fallow for as long as seven years. Before rice cultivation could resume, land had to be reclaimed, de-mined and tested to see if it would support growth. People had to be relocated from the cities back to their ancestral villages, or to new economic zones.

During the last two years, Vietnam was also hit with unusual floods and droughts. Another factor is that Vietnam had begun to plant the high-yield grain seeds left behind by the U.S. at the end of the war. Unfortunately, these "Macho" seeds, as I call them, were developed to be dependent on fertilizers and chemical sprays, which are no longer available in Vietnam. Without them the seed produces a weak crop which is prone to pests. So now there is a pest epidemic too.

What is being done by the Vietnamese to deal with this situation?

They have modified the current five-year plan to make agriculture the priority. Food rations now include 30 percent manioc root, sweet potato and corn. They have started to grow wheat in the North and to develop the idea of eating bread. As Xuan Thuy told us: "When you fight, you take whatever weapon you can get; when you're hungry, you eat whatever you can get." Wheat is cheaper, more accessible, and goes farther than rice. Despite the shortage it is evident to the naked eye that there is no starvation and no malnutrition.

What about Vietnam's plans to industrialize? Have they been temporarily scraped?

Even though agriculture is the priority, Vietnam is not ignoring its industrial plan because that is what will eventually move it to self-sufficiency. At the moment there are a number of businessmen in Vietnam. The largest group there is the Eisenberg group. Eisenberg is an Israeli who holds two other passports. He has put together a consortium of many companies that includes a Scottish gas turbine manufacturer, an Austrian tractor company, and others. They have come to Vietnam with straightforward deals, soft credit terms and normal interest rates. Vietnam now has to sift through the offers. This summer will be contract-signing time. Missing, of course, from the consortium are U.S. interests, because of the embargo.

Cambodia in Stone Age.

Could you explain how the Vietnamese view the border war with Cambodia?

Vietnam is more hurt than hostile regarding Cambodia. They feel a sense of solidarity with the Cambodian people having successfully fought a common enemy over the war years and built the Indochina Communist party together. They feel that the Pol Pot regime does not represent the masses of Cambodian people, that he cleaned out the cities because he had no following there.

Meanwhile, there are 100,000 Cambodian refugees in Vietnam. They are mostly women and children, whose husbands and fathers were arrested and are in prisons. The women refer to themselves as "presque veuves," or "nearly widowed."

The Vietnamese feel that Cambodia is living in the Stone Age. There are no markets or currency. Cambodia only has embassies in three foreign countries and has let almost no one visit the country. There are only seven foreign embassies in Cambodia and the ambassadors are restricted to within 50 meters of them. They cannot do their own shopping. Meals are brought in to them. Judging from the interviews we had with refugees, I would say that the great part of the horrendous stories we have heard are probably true.

What are the Vietnamese trying to do to resolve the conflict?

Vietnam has proposed a cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops to five kilometers on either side of the border, and an agreement to respect the sovereignty of both countries. They are also proposing inter-

national supervision and negotiations. The Vietnamese feel that the real conflict is not on the border but inside Cambodia, and that the border conflict was created basically as a diversion. I think the Vietnamese feel that the war continues because of Cambodia's special relationship to Peking and that the solution to the conflict lies in Peking.

Up to Washington.

What is the current Vietnamese attitude toward re-establishing relations with the U.S.?

The Vietnamese are not desperate, but they do want to have diplomatic relations and trade with the U.S. There is no doubt but that the expulsion of Dinh Ba Thi, unprecedented in the history of the UN, caused a temporary obstacle to these negotiations. [Dinh Ba Thi was killed June 17 in an auto accident in Vietnam.] But Vietnam is prepared to resume talking to the U.S. They are prepared to resume discussing the MIAs and have agreed to send a task force to the Central Identification Laboratories in Honolulu to aid in the identification of the remains of MIAs. The Vietnamese still maintain that the U.S. should abide by its moral responsibility to help contribute to healing the wounds of war, but they are prepared to discuss an intermediary step in that process prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations.

How has peace changed Vietnam?

In some ways peace is harder than war. In a war you know where the battlefield is, and you know in the morning you pick up your gun and go to the front. Now there is no longer the tension of the dropping of planes and the dropping of bombs, but with safety peacetime also brings many choices. It requires more diversified planning. Before, everything had to be subordinated to the war effort.

What is the atmosphere like in Vietnam today? We interviewed a number of people in French, but it's hard to get a really good idea of what they are thinking. Many people complain, which is perfectly natural. Life is hard. There isn't enough food, and they are still suffering the effects of the war.

But people are working everywhere, regardless of what side they were on ten years ago. Former ARVN officials work side by side with former NLF cadre. The ex-ARVN generals, for example, probably don't like it, because they never had to plant seeds and get their hands dirty with the earth. But they are not in jail. They are producing for the new nation and their kids go to school for free and they all get free medical care.

Is there still a feeling of excitement?

You've got to go to the circus in Hanoi at night. It's a permanent indoor, one-ring circus, and when you sit with the people you feel their excitement and joy.

There is laughter on the streets of Saigon and Hanoi. You can feel it and you can see it. Everywhere children are playing with home-made toys. There are no balls to play jacks, there are no frisbees. Everything is home-made. There are constant jump-rope games of very elaborate kinds that both boys and girls play. People are constantly in motion. No day ends without a volley-ball game, whether it's the military or a brigade that's just finished digging an irrigation ditch. There's singing and there's a guitar almost everywhere.

What do you think Americans should do about Vietnam now?

One of the lessons of the war is that people have more power than they think. I think we still have a responsibility to try to end the trade embargo and to provide post-war aid to Vietnam. This can be done by putting pressure on the administration in all the usual ways and by example, like Church World Service's wheat shipment and the hospital that Friends'hipment is building at the site of the My Lai massacre.



Two young women wait for a ferry to cross a finger of the Mekong in southern Vietnam.

Zaire intervention

Continued from page 7.

with the useless, incompetent and bankrupt Kinshasa government, against broader Western banking interests trying to figure out how to get back all the money that Mobutu's government owes them. It will not be easy in any case, but it would obviously be impossible if Zaire lost Shaba, the source of its copper and cobalt exports.

Whatever Mbumba's real motives, and whatever the game being played by Gecamines, the Shaba invasion has provided the occasion for an accelerated "recolonization" of Zaire, not by any single European power, but along international "Trilateral" lines.

An international meeting to "save Zaire" opened in Brussels on June 13, attended by representatives from the U.S., Canada, Belgium, France, West Germany, Britain, Italy, Holland, Iran, Japan and Zaire itself. Mobutu, his incapacity to maintain his power alone decisively proved by the attack on Kolwezi, has agreed to

put the management of the Zairese economy entirely in the hands of Westerners, with two Belgian officials entirely in charge of transportation, another Belgian in charge of reorganizing customs, a French expert controlling taxation and, in mid-August, an expert from the International Monetary Fund running the Zairese Central Bank. Another European will supervise public expenditures.

These Western officials can be expected to do all they can to enable Zaire to pay off its debts to Western banks. Meanwhile, efforts are underway to raise a "pan-African security force" to protect recolonized Zaire from any eventual rebellions. While representatives of the Western powers occupy the major decision-making posts, Africans will get to play cop, to enforce their decisions against recalcitrant Africans. To portray this Trilateral recolonization as a protection of African independence from foreigners, it is necessary to raise cries of alarm about the "Cuban threat."

Spain changes

Continued from page 6.

lieve that "by maintaining contact with all the forces and social sectors which suffer most directly from the present economic situation, by linking class interests with national interests, we can reach a correlation of forces favorable to the advance towards political-social democracy and later towards socialism."

Call it "convergency" or "correlation" or "democratic concentration," Spain thus witnessed what probably was the most "open" Communist party congress in history, with the press attending all the plenary sessions and the delegates obviously expressing themselves freely on every question posed by the leadership. It was as different as day from night from the type of congress at which carefully selected delegates rubber-stamped resolutions prepared in advance.

The democratization of Spain's Communist party is both important in itself, and a symptomatic part of the almost unbelievable changes that have taken place here since the death of Franco. The old

reactionary forces of the oligarchy are still around, dismayed, but not yet able to reorganize and produce any effective opposition to a broad democratic consensus that permits kings and communists alike to debate this country's future freely and without fear. In large part, Carrillo and his Communist Party have been the beneficiaries of this liberalization.

But the realism behind Carrillo's concept for constitutional democracy—is also one of the major reasons Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy has aroused so much hope.

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Wilfred G. Burchett lives in Paris, but travels extensively throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia. He is author of many books, including Catapult to Freedom, an account of the 1974 Portuguese revolution and its aftermath. Burchett has recently reported on the Eurocommunist movement. This spring he attended the Spanish Communist party's Ninth Congress.

SPECIAL REPORT

PROGRESS AND POVERTY: HAS THE BLACK MOVEMENT STALLED?

BY DAVID MOBERG

The freedom movement is not dead. It is merely over." Rev. Jesse Jackson stood before the several hundred committed and curious people at the weekly Saturday morning PUSH (People United to Save/Serve Humanity) meeting on Chicago's South Side. Thousands more listened on the radio.

Dressed in a casual shirt-jacket, Jackson stood beneath a large picture of his movie-star handsome self, the emblem of PUSH and the legend of the spacious old church sanctuary: "Know Before Whom Thou Standest."

"Freedom means options," he intoned. "When we were on the back of the bus without the option of sitting in the front, we were unfree. Sometimes we don't vote, but we are free to vote. We have options."

"But too often we don't take advantage of our options. Freedom doesn't mean you catch up. It means we have to get in the race for equality. Whether you go to the hospital as a doctor or patient is your decision. Whether you go to court as criminal or judge is your decision."

The PUSH choir launched into a forceful version of what approximates the current organizational hymn, "Save the Children," with its watchword chorus: "Ain't nobody gonna save us from us for us but us."

The slogan is a long way from "black power." But political and economic power is still what the black community needs and wants. The old clenched fist salute scared conservative powerholders in this country, but many of them feel quite at home with the new PUSH slogan. It fits their view that blacks are their own worst enemies and that they could progress quickly toward the "Great American Dream" if they simply cleaned up their act.

Yet in many ways it also fits the mood of blacks today, who have lost faith in the likelihood that white goodwill or government action will soon redress poverty or unemployment and eradicate institutionalized racial inequities. This is a time of reflection and regrouping among those blacks who are not completely disillusioned and frustrated.

Few would argue with Jackson's observation that the movement for legal equality is largely over. Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) says, "The dominant strategy now is to move toward a struggle over economic justice, which really follows very logically out of the civil rights struggle." Economic justice, however, has proven elusive.

Some black activists fear that the movement is not merely "over" but that it is virtually dead. One Chicago organizer said privately what many feel in moments of discouragement: "The movement is dead, ground to a halt. There's not even any reaction to racist outrages. If blacks are organizing, it's in the newspapers and not in the streets. Every time I think about the nuclear arms race and look at the cities decaying, I get sick. And people are still wondering where the next party is."

An even harsher judgment comes from Manning Marable, a widely published black writer and chair of the political science department at Tuskegee Institute: "Because of the self-destruction of the black movement in the '70s and the hostile political climate, the black movement is the most fractured and disoriented it has been since 1905. We have 'black leaders' who are not leaders. Blacks are accepted within the state as elected representatives, but the material condition of black people hasn't been worse."

Pick your economic statistics and you can paint a picture of a steady black progress during the '70s. Pick others and you can demonstrate minimal progress and backsliding. The growing number of black elected officials can be taken as a sign of political advancement, but at the same time the traditional civil rights organizations are in disarray and the political ambience of many black communities is beaten and hopeless or bored.

Black political strategists struggling to find a way forward confront at least four major sets of problems:

- (1) an increasingly unsympathetic legal and political milieu,
- (2) setbacks brought on by the recessions of the '70s and the deepening economic crisis of northern industrial cities,
- (3) political divisions, popular despair and diversions within the black community, and
- (4) the threat of class divisions destroying such black unity as now exists.



TIMES HAVE TURNED

In the '60s it seemed like the hip thing to do, being a member of a downtrodden minority. I thought that was what I wanted, but times have changed. People have forgotten about our cause.

—O.J. Simpson on NBC's *Saturday Night Live*, explaining that he has decided not to be black any longer

Despite periodic victories at the polls, black interests are taking a beating in the courts, the legislatures and the public opinion polls.

Because of the self-destruction of the black movement in the '70s and the hostile political climate it is the most fractured and disoriented it has been since 1905.



The Supreme Court has narrowed the impact of the anti-discrimination legislation of the '60s in the rulings on union seniority and housing. Affirmative action plans in university admissions (the Bakke case), city hiring (Detroit) and corporate job training programs (Louisiana) are also under assault in the courts.

Although recent surveys show widespread racial bias continues in housing, mortgages, insurance rates and public expenditures for schools and other facilities, studies of white opinion by Louis Harris and by the *New York Times* show a dramatic turnabout within the past decade: far fewer whites now believe that blacks face racial discrimination in jobs, schools or housing. When only one-third of whites believed in 1977 that blacks experienced discrimination in trying to reach equality—compared with 76 percent of whites in 1970 (Harris poll)—white support for black demands is likely to be low.

Blacks are also threatened by a new breed of "deracialized" political initiatives with profound racial implications. These attacks go beyond the anti-busing resistance, the attacks on black protest codified as concern about "crime in the streets," and the anti-welfare agitation of years past. Tax limitations, such as the Jarvis-Gann amendment in California, would undermine public services blacks need most. Tuition tax credits for private education could scuttle public schools as middle class whites pull their children out of the public system and vote against taxes for education, thus worsening blacks' attempts to strengthen their schooling.

"It's harder to fight institutional racism than more personal racism," Ron Daniels, chair of the National Black Political Assembly, says. "There isn't somebody holding a sign up in your face that says, 'Nigger, go away.'"

If the Carter administration hasn't yet fashioned such a sign, many blacks feel that it has nevertheless given an equivalent signal. Although blacks can claim to have given Carter the margin of victory in at least 13 states and thus were critical to his election, they generally feel that Carter and his advisers have had their ears more attuned to white recalcitrants or corporate executives and have ignored blacks.

"Very few black people thought he would be as good as he said he would," NAACP director Benjamin Hooks said earlier this year, "but very few blacks thought he would be as bad as he turned out to be."

Although black leaders often have a tough time mobilizing their constituency on "deracialized" issues, they have even more trouble finding white allies. If they help to elect candidates to office, they often find their goals betrayed by whites who use them or by blacks who are more concerned about their personal success and ties to white political brokers than about their responsibility to their communities.

"Among too many black politicians self-interest remains much too common," Hoyt Fuller, editor of *First World*, says, "and too many do not recognize responsibility to the people who put them in office. They are still too busy congratulating themselves."

The hostile climate, the combination of diverting success for a few and continued hardship for many, the decline in quality of life in big city black neighborhoods, the impact of drugs and a criminal subculture, and the failure to see dramatic results from electoral political victories all have contributed to a depoliticization of the black community itself.

"Rather than apathy the proper word for it is disillusionment," Chicago independent political strategist Don Rose says, "but it is a disillusionment that results in apathy rather than anger and militancy."

RECESSION IN EVERY SENSE OF THE WORD

The deep recessions and limited economic recoveries of the 1970s, compounded by high inflation, have hurt blacks disproportionately. The unemployment rate for in 1976-7 remained steadily around 13 percent even after white unemployment began to drop. Overall black family income has slipped from 61 percent of the white level in 1969 to 59 percent in 1977. Many politicians—including the Carter White House—have decided that inflation, not unemployment, is the greatest threat to the nation today. The resulting belt-tightening will further increase competition for scarce jobs, housing and services as well as popular opposition to taxation and public spending.

Black leaders are most disturbed by the plight of teenagers. Many worry about "losing a generation" to despair, crime, drug addiction and antisocial hostility. Last year black teenage unemployment hit an all-time high of 45.5 percent.

The high unemployment rate "has a devastating impact," says Daniels, who ran for mayor of Youngstown, Ohio. "It increases crime and terrorism in the black community. It increases the lumpen element that resists political organization. I almost got a headache when you mentioned it. It's incredibly difficult to work with people who are so unemployed and have so little hope."

"There's a rightward turn even in the black community. I have to struggle with my father on this. He sees the guys down on 'unemployment corner' hang out, drink wine, shoot dope, fool with guns and cause trouble, and he's ready to have the cops come in and smash heads. It makes our job much more difficult. We have to fight among ourselves. 'We have to do something with these thugs and hoodlums,' people say. 'They don't want to work.' And it really hurts when someone

breaks in and steals your color TV that you've worked five years to get."

With lessened faith in action from outside to solve youth problems worsened by the economic hard times, many blacks are turning to motivational and moral crusades. PUSH, for instance, recently received \$400,000 from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to expand its "Push for Excellence" program beyond Los Angeles, Chicago and Kansas City. Excel urges students to pledge two hours of homework each night, commits parents to turn off the TV and take greater interest in their kids' grades, and encourages schools to reward academic achievers.

White administrators seem to like the program although black critics have attacked it as "nothing new," "total bullshit" and "blaming the victim."

Bob Williams of the Chicago Urban League, however, praises Excel as helping black students to gain control over their learning and to acquire needed survival skills.

Jackson and other black leaders—notably the World Community of Islam in the West, which is turning more conservative politically as well as more orthodox in religion—have also launched campaigns to rid the black community of the "Pimp Mystique," drug dealing, songs extolling extramarital sex, lurid black exploitation movies and the rip-off ethic.

Many blacks are attracted to these traditional, religious, conservative and middle-class notions of discipline and self-restraint. Often they see white culture—including everything from television "pornography" to counter-culture experimentation, from sexual liberation to the new middle-class ethic of consumer indulgence—as a threat to the sacrifice and austerity needed for black "bootstrap" advance.

Black morality and motivation are, of course, not the only answers being proffered for the problems brought on by recession.

Although "black capitalism" has amounted to very little, some community development corporations and similar projects are having limited success in northern cities. Also, there is a tiny move in the direction of housing rehabilitation and community self-reliance, such as urban gardening.

In the South networks of cooperatives are having a greater impact. For example, the Delta Enterprise, associated with the Mississippi Action Committee for Education (MACE), is the 45th largest business in Mississippi. It has a 4,000-acre co-op farm, eight community-owned grocery stores, a radio station and other enterprises.

While Rev. George E. Riddick of PUSH says that he no longer talks about black capitalism—"because all of the black companies registered by the Commerce Department, all 195,000 of them, would only rank 19 on the Fortune 500"—he does stress community development that reduces black dependence. Part of the PUSH strategy calls for strengthening a black professional class that can provide needed health care, legal support,



education and social services. "We've got to be putting all our effort into developing ourselves," Riddick says. "Even though it's in the country's interest to take us out of the economic ditches, they won't do it."

DIVISIONS, DIVERSIONS AND CONFUSIONS

Opponents of the black thrust for rights and power have long fomented divisions within the black community. The recent report of FBI efforts to cultivate a rival to weaker Martin Luther King Jr. is simply the latest example. But changes within the black populace and the new political challenges are producing divisions on their own as well.

After King's death there was a temptation to look for another "black Messiah"—as FBI Cointelpro documents called the potential leaders that they wanted to eliminate. But most black political strategists think that there are now hundreds of competent leaders and that blacks do not need one or two fiery preachers with stage presence as much as they need solid organizations, good administrators, blacks in policy-making positions in government and well-conceived strategy.

Some of the most difficult strategy questions facing blacks center on the relative importance of self-reliance or coalition with whites, separate development or integration, race or class.

In the early '70s there was an often fruitful, often debilitating debate among black intellectuals over whether race alone was important, class alone, race first and then class, class first and then race, or some other permutation. Black Marxists argued for socialism against some nationalists and Pan-Africanists who rejected socialism as a "white idea" and instead promoted "black economics," an amorphous category that often turned out to be black capitalism. Groups such as the National Black Political Assembly and the African Liberation Support Committee were greatly weakened by those battles.

Like some factions on the white left, switches of opinion were often abrupt and divorced from the reality of steadily declining mass activity. According to one story, a prominent group of nationalists who wore dashikis and had women walk behind—"African style"—suddenly appeared in public after a two-week disappearance wearing Mao suits with women marching alongside them—"Chinese Marxist-Leninist style."

Integration is no longer a prominent goal for most

black activists, although nearly all defend the right of blacks to find jobs, housing and schooling wherever they want. But a defiant separatism is equally rare, it seems. With opportunities opening for some middle class blacks, many apparently feel that there is "no need to hold on to a black identity," Oliver Cromwell of the Joint Center for Political Studies reports. For others, there is an increasing desire to increase black self-reliance but at the same time work where possible with progressive white politicians, trade unions and other groups.

The shifting nature of black opinion on integration and self-reliant separation shows up especially in the schools, the locus of the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision, which catalyzed the civil rights movement. Although blacks continue to resent inferior schools that are the result of a segregated system, only a minority seems interested in integration for its own sake.

State Sen. Harold Washington of Chicago, a mayoral candidate in the last election, is not unusual in saying that he "supports the desegregation movement, but it's not the real issue." The real issue is quality education, he says.

Judson Hixson of the Chicago Urban League, however, argues that desegregation is still needed to end the symbolic exclusion of blacks and to force school boards to equalize quality throughout the educational system. Marable, on the other hand, emphasizes black community control of schools as a way of preserving and strengthening a unique culture and worldview.

With many blacks torn and with white resistance often belligerent, the political energy behind desegregation is waning.

There is also a rough division between blacks who stress getting "a piece of the pie" and those who see black demands necessarily changing the system.

Gus Savage, a Chicago political campaigner, argues that "the starting point to even talk is power. I'm interested in equal power," political, economic, administrative and even the power of organized crime in black hands. That power, including jobs for blacks, is a prelude to either coalitions or broad social change.

While the black movement traditionally has advanced demands that clashed with those of the major corporations, there has always been a segment of black leadership that urged alliance of blacks with big business. The drift toward acceptance of capitalist priorities has increased recently. Most notably the NAACP adopted an energy program that could have been written by Mobil Oil. It virtually was, since the framers included blacks with managerial positions in energy corporations.

Other blacks quickly attacked its call for deregulation of natural gas prices, nuclear power and reliance on massive fossil fuel development, but the pro-business bias remains strong in the NAACP. Two of the planks in the economic program at the NAACP's latest summit meeting were to "help change attitudes of blacks toward private enterprise" and to "develop an educational

program to promote a basic understanding of the free enterprise system."

A few black leaders, including newspaper publisher Dr. Carlton Goodlett, argue for black advocacy of democratic socialism. "We're approaching a point in the progress of the black community where there will be a serious confrontation of the black leadership class and the people generally," Hoyt Fuller says. "The whole question of socialism vs. capitalism is going to have to be dealt with." That, of course, promises to be a further fundamental, if unavoidable, division of black politics.

COMMUNITY & CLASS

Some of the divisions over issues and ideas in the black community ultimately come back to a more fundamental question that has begun to haunt strategy discussions: Is the black community becoming split into social classes in such a way that there is no longer a unitary "black agenda"?

If statistics on black income and employment are broken down from the aggregate lump, two tendencies show up: There is a steadily increasing proportion of upper middle income blacks and of blacks in professional and managerial occupations. Also, according to a recent Rand Corp. study, black workers have consistently improved the ratio of their income to that of whites since the mid-'60s.

However, during the past few years the proportion of blacks under the poverty line has increased as well. More families are headed by black women, who make only 61 percent of what black men make. Unemployment, of course, has been up, and the official participation in the active labor force for black men has dropped off. Then there are the teenagers, many of whom are not even listed as employed.

Looking at the growing divergence between full-time and part-time black earnings, the Rand study reported "the possibility that income distributions among blacks are becoming more unequal. Fully employed blacks are experiencing large gains, but this improvement is not filtering down to most economically disadvantaged blacks."

Blacks are splitting in two: Those "making it," whether as a steadily employed factory worker or as a professional, and those who aren't making it, the marginally and occasionally employed, the discouraged and unemployed, welfare recipients and many of the young.

So far most black leaders deny that this split has grown significant enough to over-shadow a common cultural heritage and the continuing common experience of racial discrimination. However, some signs of a split are already evident: the pro-capitalist positions of some middle-class leaders, the drift toward more residential segregation of poor and more affluent blacks, and even a cultural division between educated, middle class "colored people" or Negroes and impoverished, scorned "blacks."

"If it comes about it will be the worst thing in the world for blacks," Chicago State University president Benjamin Alexander says. "You'll have blacks designated 'Negro' or 'colored'—those will be educated—and then you'll have poor, uneducated, welfare recipients or those in jail and they'll be 'black.' Then we'd have a politician running as a Negro to get the vote of the educated and the liberal whites. He's say to hell with the black vote."

This is not simply Benjamin's fantasy: he has already been approached by educated blacks who want to systematically establish this division. "As I travel," he says, "I see middle-class blacks who want to dissociate themselves from their poor black brethren."

In the '60s the aspirations of the black middle class for legal equality expanded into a much broader black liberation movement. Today there is less reason to look to those middle-class demands—for more professional positions, for better government appointments or for expanded government contracts—as triggering a movement of the black poor or industrial workers.

Black intellectuals could still sway large sections of a new professional stratum to an independent black socialist politics that would address the needs of the black majority, however, especially if the gains of the "middle class" blacks become frozen at their present level of tokenism. There is still hope that the emerging income and occupational divisions will not automatically split up the black political community. "There's too much we have in common with each other, even if there are black doctors," Detroit city councilman Ken Cockrel says. "There will never be a black Nelson Rockefeller."

THE QUESTION OF POWER: HOW TO GET IT?

"Rights are one thing," Gus Savage says in his blunt manner. "Power is something different." While blacks clearly have more rights and considerably more power now than in 1960, they do not yet have the power to defend their communities, their youth, and their livelihoods when political and economic times turn sour.

Although protests and demonstrations still occur—largely over issues like the Bakke attack on affirmative action, South Africa and political repression that can mobilize a college student base—black politics has turned increasingly to the ballot box and legislative halls in the past decade. That is where black strategists look for progress in the coming years as well.

Ten years ago there were fewer than 500 blacks elected to office in the U.S. Today there are over 4,500. Despite the progress, that's still less than 1 percent of all officials, far out of proportion to black population.

Generally, black politicians have a hard time winning statewide offices and have more success where they can hit hard on black community themes rather than dilute their program to reach whites, according to Robert Chrisman, editor of *The Black Scholar*. Although a Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts or Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles may get elected primarily with white votes, the more common pattern is that blacks turn out in force with a 90 percent vote for a black candidate who also can pull 10 to 15 percent of whites.

This is especially true in the South, where, according to MACE director Charles Bannerman, blacks now have the power to deny an election to a conservative white, such as retiring Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi, or to exact concessions from a candidate but not to elect a major black official from a broad geographical region.

However, black political strategists still look to the South for most of the near-term electoral gains. With 53 percent of the nation's black population, the South already has 60 percent of black officials, concentrated at the community level. The civil rights tradition, the persistence of an agricultural, landholding base (despite losses in recent years), and the existence of solid black cultural institutions and kinship networks, lead observers to expect further political upsurge in the region. Success in the new union organizing drives and continued growth of the area's economy may also strengthen the hand of southern blacks.

Everywhere black leaders recognize that they cannot crack the ballot box with 42 percent of all potential voters unregistered and large numbers of the remainder un-

interested. Both the NAACP and the Urban League are expanding their voter registration drives.

Because of their funding and their political caution, however, both groups limit political education to mechanical civics course fundamentals. To gain real power and to provide motivation, however, black voters need education in the sources of community problems, potential political directions, programmatic alternatives and delineation of who are friends and who are enemies.

"The issue isn't registration," publisher Savage argues. "It's participation. For that you have to have a persuasive, provocative alternative."

Chrisman thinks that the current problem is less voter apathy than "candidate apathy." "The emptiness and transparency of the candidates has alienated voters," he maintains. In order to keep white votes and placate the white businessmen who still rule their regions economically, black politicians often grow conservative in office and their black constituents grow disillusioned.

State Sen. Harold Washington also blames voter apathy in part on "the lack of credibility of black leaders, overpromising and underperforming, not having the ability to get even the simple things done, like garbage pick-up, taking care of abandoned buildings, street repair, not to mention job programs. There's a lack of trust and faith in the political process, more frustration than apathy." This attitude hurts even hardworking, progressive officials like Washington, who barely squeaked past a challenge from the Chicago machine in the spring primary because of a 25 percent voter turnout in his district.

White politicians and corporate officials are at fault for many of the shortcomings of black politicians, even if the black leader usually takes the heat. Often black officials take over as a city or region has already declined economically, and their election sometimes precipitates flight of more whites and small businesses from their jurisdiction. They have no control over economic levels of government. For example, the Indiana state legislature violated the spirit, if not the letter, of its constitution in changing incorporation laws that enabled a white suburb near Gary, Ind., to drain black mayor Richard Hatcher's impoverished city of much of its remaining retail business.

Even black critics of the effectiveness of elected black credit them with reducing police brutality, encouraging more black political involvement, improving black education and redistributing services more fairly.

Ken Cockrel, a socialist council member in Detroit, for instance, angrily denies that black officials are "neo-colonialist buffoons," as some militants say. Earlier in the day that we talked, he said, he pushed through the council a proposal for an investigation of municipally-owned power and lighting, including possible purchase of investor-owned utilities.

"No matter who you elect a mayor, that's not going to change the system," Savage acknowledges. "But it will keep people from curling up like a rat and it will take care of immediate problems."

Repeatedly black politicians and observers across the country lamented the lack of an independent black political organization. The Independent Freedom Party, associated with the National Black Political Assembly, may be resurrected later this year. Rep. John Conyers has called for a "national black political arm" to help elect or defeat candidates in the interest of blacks. He also wants blacks to be able in 1980 to exact concessions from candidate Carter or else to challenge him in the primaries.

Some black politicians are also echoing the sentiments of Ron Brown, deputy director of the Urban League, who told the NAACP summit meeting, "We cannot allow ourselves to be taken for granted by the Democrats and ignored by the Republicans."

Could blacks return to the Republican party? Frustration with Jimmy Carter and other Democrats blacks have supported could result in defection, despite the unsavory record of the Republicans. Jesse Jackson addressed the Republican National Committee last winter and heads of both parties addressed the NAACP spring summit. An intelligent party leadership might be able to capitalize on the current black disaffection with the Democrats by reviving its black capitalism program, supporting the black moral rearmament and motivation campaigns, attacking black on black crime, and returning to the Nixonian strategy of fomenting increased hostility between blacks and trade unions that resist affirmative action.

All this might win over only the part of the black middle class that is already turning openly pro-capitalist, but that would be enough. Don Rose figures that the Republicans only need to capture five to 15 percent of black votes to turn the tables in a great many close races across the country.

But with Reaganites massing on the party's right flank, it is unlikely that Republicans will make a serious move to capture black votes.

Splintered and attacked, diverted and discouraged, isolated and diffused, crushed and ignored, the black political force now sputters along half-victorious and half-checkmated after shaking the political foundations of America for a couple decades. The experience of those years of struggle has not been lost but neither does it provide an adequate ideology or organization for the obdurate challenges facing blacks in the late '70s.

It may no longer be hip to be a member of a down-trodden minority, but black politics cannot waver in the winds of fashion. Every pause in "the freedom movement" threatens gains already made. Every setback condemns a chunk of a new generation to mistreatment as expendable and inferior slaves to a legacy of racism, a legacy so deeply entrenched that the victories of the '60s constituted only the first formal steps toward freedom. ■

JOHN CONYERS: THE NEW ISSUES ARE ECONOMIC

John Conyers has a cool, deliberate speaking style, miles away from the flamboyant preacher-perorating so commonly associated with civil rights leaders. Yet in his 14 years in Congress, he has not only taken a leading role in advocacy of rights for blacks but also actively worked for civil liberties, peace, full employment and pro-labor legislation.

Conyers opposed the war in Vietnam in his first campaign and introduced the first impeachment resolution against Richard Nixon over the bombing of Cambodia in 1972. He continues to be a vocal opponent of the criminal code revision—formerly embodied in S-1 and now in HR-6869—that includes broad powers of political suppression.

He was a principal advocate in the House of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, and recently introduced, with the intention of implementing HR-50, a bill to shorten the standard work week. He has been closely allied with the labor movement, particularly the UAW in his home city, Detroit.

Conyers authored the fair housing amendment to the 1966 Civil Rights Act and continues to participate in the Black Congressional Caucus.

Conyers recently discussed the state of black politics with IN THESE TIMES.

Many people now see the black movement as confused, fragmented and lacking a dominant strategy. Do you think this is true?

I see the struggle as having been very multi-faceted all the time. I begin by discrediting this overly romanticized view that we were all together in the civil rights struggle and that somehow it fell apart after King's death. It really started way before King anyway, although it was certainly sharpened and heightened then to a point that it had never been before.

The dominant strategy is to move toward a struggle over economic justice, which really follows very logically out of the civil rights struggle.

The struggle against terrible work conditions is related to our larger struggle. The shorter work week is also related, as is surely and obviously full employment, which has been the object of intense activity by the Congressional Black Caucus and black elected officials everywhere. That has resulted in the first full employment legislation federally in a generation.

The whole question around African liberation is now getting far more support and analysis in the black community than in the past. The women's struggle even, and the consideration of community control are all sympathetic and complementary developments of the civil rights struggle.

Yet we are still very underpoliticized. There are not enough people working in any of these areas. Less than half our people vote, which is a vote against the system and also an expression of hopelessness.

There are also other large, identifiable directions in black America. One is the success phenomenon that drives a black person and his or her family upwards through the class structure. As they're incorporated into a system that has essentially been good to them, it is much easier for them to rationalize it. So we now have success stories that lead people to point to black people who oppose the full employment bill, people who think the system is great and needs very little change.

After a person is released personally from the shackles of racial discrimination, then it may be that he doesn't see much wrong with the system if he can get his proverbial—and I detest the phrase—slice of the pie. All of a sudden he may be the only black in a particular automobile company, but he's making excellent wages, he can live in the suburbs, his children can go to private schools. If more people had his initiative, he might ar-



Tom Greenfelder

guc, they might succeed, too, failing to see that he's the token, that blacks in professional, business and managerial sector are highly underrepresented.

There's also another group discernable in this national community of black people. Those are the people who have not been affected by the federal programs, who have not gotten any relief, who have struggled and not made it, who are being eaten alive by inflation, assuming they're working regularly.

Those people quite frequently turn to one of the more unsavory axioms in our society: every man for himself. Their point of view is that talking about any collective effort is absurd. "I've got to survive. I've got to make it. I'm out here alone against the odds. Nobody can help me out in any collective thing. The government has failed me."

There are a lot of people sorted out in that way. They're doing what they can, and frequently it's through a subculture of crime.

Are you able to address that "underclass" and motivate them to become involved in politics?

Absolutely, or else we will all fail. The way to make politics real for him is to move through redistributive processes to provide opportunities and resources for him that will spell out very clearly that he's in a democratic society.

Whether we can do that or not is still the question. That's been the debate for 200 years. Much of the reaction around Bakke, the attack on affirmative action, and all the questions around equal opportunity to me reflect the essential weakness in the economic system that is dominant in this country.

We have an economic system that takes no account of the public sector. Everybody thinks about what must be done to stimulate free enterprise, but there are no capitalists who are eager to rebuild the slums of America unless there's a sizeable profit involved. It's clearly a job for the public sector. But the public sector has been

so confused that it hardly realizes that billions of dollars going for thermonuclear missiles and exotic hardware, built on negotiated rather than competitive bidding by corporations whose sole existence is predicated on a direct relationship with the federal government, make up a public sector that couldn't be more clearly defined. But it is all going the wrong way.

At a recent NAACP summit meeting, Dr. Carlton Goodlet called for an ideology for the black movement, in particular an ideology of democratic socialism.

It's a logical intellectual approach. But how are you going to explain democratic socialism to a person who may not have finished high school and is trying to get any kind of job that will keep himself and family together. I can't see myself seriously advancing that, even though I appreciate its logical objectives.

What makes sense to the people I talk to in this country is a full employment program, where the government takes putting people to work as its number one goal and where it regulates runaway prices causing inflation.

In the black leadership community there are two considerations. There needs to be developed a national black political arm that is non-partisan and independent that will lend in supporting and defeating people running for office at all levels in this country. It is clearly and sorely needed to complement the Congressional Black Caucus and other black caucuses at the local level and in the educational and criminal justice systems so that we can reach out and strike back politically.

How would that arm be put together and financed?

It would be completely separate and independent from all existing organizations, which can't do that because of the way they receive their money.

Would it be focused on the South or North, local or congressional races? Would you see this as trying to elect primarily black candidates or as influencing other

elections?

It would do all those but different things in different places and different times. Our obvious purpose would be to bring in some reasonable proportion the number of blacks everywhere. The national level would be critical, but I'm also reminded of what Andrew Young told me two elections ago. In many cases a few hundred dollars would mean the difference between electing some new black candidate at the local level in the South.

Based just on investment of money and energy the South would be the most ideal place to begin this massive political transformation. For example, the Congressional Black Caucus is specifically responsible for passing the first full employment legislation in a generation. We did it by using a "roots" strategy, where we went back to our roots in the South and had friends and relatives working with their immediate national people and it succeeded. We now have very encouraging evidence of the validity of this politicization of a black network that can eventually cover the entire nation.

There's one other notion that's beginning to emerge in a very large form around the upcoming presidential election in 1980. There are two developments that I'm a party to right now. One is the theory that I'm advancing that not only does black leadership have to figure how they're going to get out the vote for Carter, if he is considered to be worth a second term, but also how we can save Carter from some of his advisers and sell him to the greater population out there, over and beyond black voters.

Then there's an alternative that we run a black candidate against Carter and challenge the Democratic party, and his administration particularly, to shape up or face a massive defection, which would again guarantee his unelectability in 1980.

We're in tremendously exciting times, I think, and important decisions are being made that are a result of our immediate experience with the '76 elections and the years before that.

RANKS OF THE PERMANENT POOR ARE GROWING

BY STEVE ASKIN

On any weekday afternoon walk down Chicago's 47th Street to King Drive, once the hub of this city's most fashionable black shopping and residential district. You will see milling crowds of young adults whose presence proves there's no work to be found. Those crowds are nothing new, of course, but they have been growing steadily larger, local residents and shopkeepers say.

Shop Southside Chicago second hand stores—the department stores of the very poor—as I have for a half dozen years, and you'll see more evidence of deepening poverty. A few years ago such shops were crowded almost every day. But today, reports a clerk in my favorite Amvets, "the only time folks can afford to come in here is half price day." Even 50 cents a shirt, \$3.00 for a pair of jeans has become more than some can spend.

Or stop by Cabrini-Green, one of Chicago's many public housing projects, and speak to a woman raising her family on welfare. "Where could I look for a decent job," asks Joan Jackson, a 22-year-old mother of two, "even if I could find someone to take care of the baby?"

When I met them, a year and a half ago, Jackson and her sons subsisted on a monthly public aid check of \$217 a month. The cost of living has risen about 10 percent since then; Illinois welfare payments have not increased at all.

More than a half decade of inflation and recession has turned the black/white economic gap into an ever-growing chasm.

The fact that black voters have lost in the 1970s the employment and income gains they won in the 1960s is old news made fresh by each new batch of government statistics.

The gap between black and white unemployment rates is larger this year than any time since the government started keeping track of joblessness by race. Among whites, unemployment has eased substantially in the past year, with the official rate dropping by more than a percentage point to 5.2 percent in January. Black unemployment, at 12.3 percent, is down fractionally from a year ago.

The number of white people living on less than the federal government's meager poverty budget, \$5,800 a year for a family of four, dropped by almost one million in 1976, the last year for which such figures are available. The black poverty population grew slightly.

It is widely recognized that the official reports from which these numbers are culled actually undercount the black poor and unemployed.

That they also mask another growing division—the increasingly wide gap between the black poor and the black "middle class"—is less well known.

"If you take the black population as a whole, the [racial economic] gap has been widening only ever so slightly during the 1970s," explains University of Chicago sociologist William J. Wilson. "Examine the situation in more detail and you will find that highly educated blacks are holding their own, or even advancing relative to whites.

"But among the black underclass, real incomes are less today than several years ago...labor force participation is declining, the unemployment rate and the welfare participation rates are increasing. It is because of the increasing misery of the black underclass that figures for 'all blacks' have gotten worse."

Who are the members of this underclass?

"They are those who don't participate in the economy," says Northwestern University economist Marcus Alexis. "those who, generation after generation, seem to be systematically excluded from the economic mainstream... They are not just black, though a disproportionate number are... They include Appalachian whites, small town poor white youth, big city poor blacks."

A stroll through the more fashionable shops of Chicago's Loop or Near North Side would illustrate the shift far better than any numbers.

Where ten years ago blacks were visible, if at all, only as stockroom clerks, today many of the shoppers are black. Talk to black people who can afford to patronize those stores, and you may be told that racial discrimination in pay and unemployment is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

While he doubts that any black is likely to become head of a downtown bank anytime soon, Coleman points to several black bank VPs as evidence that race bias is unlikely to hamper minority advancement on any lower rung of the corporate ladder.

The first member of his family to go to college, Coleman credits his success to his father's persistent pleas—"Get a good education." And the elder Coleman's unionized job, as a machine operator, provided income that helped make it possible for the son to stay in school.

In a provocatively titled new book, *The Declining Significance of Race*, Wilson argues that basic changes in American race relations and in the economy have vastly improved the "life chances" of Ron Coleman and others like him, while making it increasingly unlikely that Joan Jackson, her neighbors, or even her children, can ever hope to emerge from poverty.

In the second half of the 20th century, Wilson writes, "many of the traditional barriers to black advance have crumbled" and been replaced by new obstacles. "Whereas the previous barriers were usually designed to control and restrict the entire black population, the new barriers create hardships essentially for the black underclass..."

"The new barriers," he continues, "have racial significance only in their consequences, not in their origins. In short, whereas the old barriers bore the pervasive features of racial oppression, the new barriers indicate an important and emerging form of class oppression."

Affirmative action, combined with a high demand for skilled white collar and professional workers, have speeded the advance of the black "middle class."

Conversely, the disappearance of "good jobs" for the relatively unskilled—as factories move to distant suburbs and Sun-Belt cities or blue collar jobs are swallowed by automation—means that the children of today's ghetto have little chance to follow the Coleman family's route to relative prosperity.

As Wilson points out, the work the unskilled can find consists, for the most part, of "dead-end jobs society holds in contempt."

Many of those jobs provide an income which leaves one below the poverty line. Few pay the \$10,000 a year

three stages of American economic development. He finds racial antagonism central to only the first two stages.

Stage I represents the plantation South whose slave economy was based on a racial caste system.

In Stage II, the post-bellum era and early 20th century, racial conflict arose between the white and black working classes. Blacks were the last hired, first fired, and when hired used often as strikebreakers. Racial tension figured significantly in the early 20th century industrial order.

Stage III covers the post-WWII years—the period of modern industrialism. Since 1940 structural changes in the American economy have altered traditional race relations. Black people have moved out of southern agriculture and have become overwhelmingly urbanized and industrialized.

Unions have opened their membership to blacks—creating far greater accessibility to semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Technological strides, in conjunction with an expanding government and corporate sector, have caused the unprecedented growth of white-collar positions. Finally, equal employment legislation has accelerated the movement of educated blacks into the growing number of white-collar jobs.

This current of change paves the way for the modern black bourgeoisie. At the same time its educational criteria chart a dead-end course for the unskilled and uneducated. Moreover, racial norms have changed. White America no longer segregates and stigmatizes the middle class black with his disadvantaged brother.

The modern black bourgeoisie differs considerably from the one described a generation ago by sociologist E. Franklin Frazier. Today's black middle class moves easily into the white corporate structure, according to Wilson. This "talented and educated" group encounters no hostility to interracial contact. Thus Wilson concludes that "class has become more important than race in determining black access to privilege and power."

Wilson is careful to admit that "a uniform reliance on class to explain all forms and degrees of racial conflict can be as misleading as a uniform reliance on race."

Having removed race from the economic sphere, he acknowledges its continued existence at the sociopolitical level. Flare-ups occur between working class blacks and whites over issues such as school busing and housing. While not unimportant to Wilson, racial antagonism at the sociopolitical level is less influential in determining the life chances of individual blacks.

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that the federal government says is needed to maintain an austere but adequately fed, clothed and housed urban family.

The black poor can't hope to win economic gains, most observers agree, while the economy remains in recession. As the Congressional Budget Office explains in a study prepared for U.S. Rep. Parren J. Mitchell: "During recession, non-whites are more likely to be the first fired...and their joblessness increases more rapidly than that of whites. During recoveries...their unemployment rate declines more slowly."

The current series of economic setbacks for black Americans dates from Richard M. Nixon's first presidential year, 1969, the year that also marked the end of an extended period of declining unemployment and relatively rapid increases in purchasing power for Americans of all races. Between 1969 and 1976, the purchasing power of the average white family (as measured in inflation-adjusted "real dollars") grew by about \$300. The average black family lost \$70.

Though black workers suffer most in recession, general economic growth has never solved their economic problems. When white unemployment rates hovered a little above 3 percent through much of the late 1960s, black unemployment remained above 6 percent. The CBO study, working from the assumption that the black/white unemployment ratio will remain near the historic norm of two-to-one, points out that a successful effort to reduce overall unemployment to 4 percent—the goal of the current draft of the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act" would still leave black unemployment around 8 percent.

The unemployment ratio has hovered even higher, as high as 2.4-to-1, in recent months. If Wilson's analysis is correct, a new economic expansion could, paradoxically, leave the overall unemployment gap at a record high level even as some blacks find that equal economic opportunity is no longer a distant dream.

Steve Askin is a reporter in Chicago. This story was adapted from an article in the *Chicago Reporter*, a monthly information service on racial issues.

THE DECLINING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE

By William J. Wilson
University of Chicago Press, 1978

THE IMPORTANCE OF CLASS RISING, BUT RACE REMAINS

BY EVELYN BROOKS BARNETT

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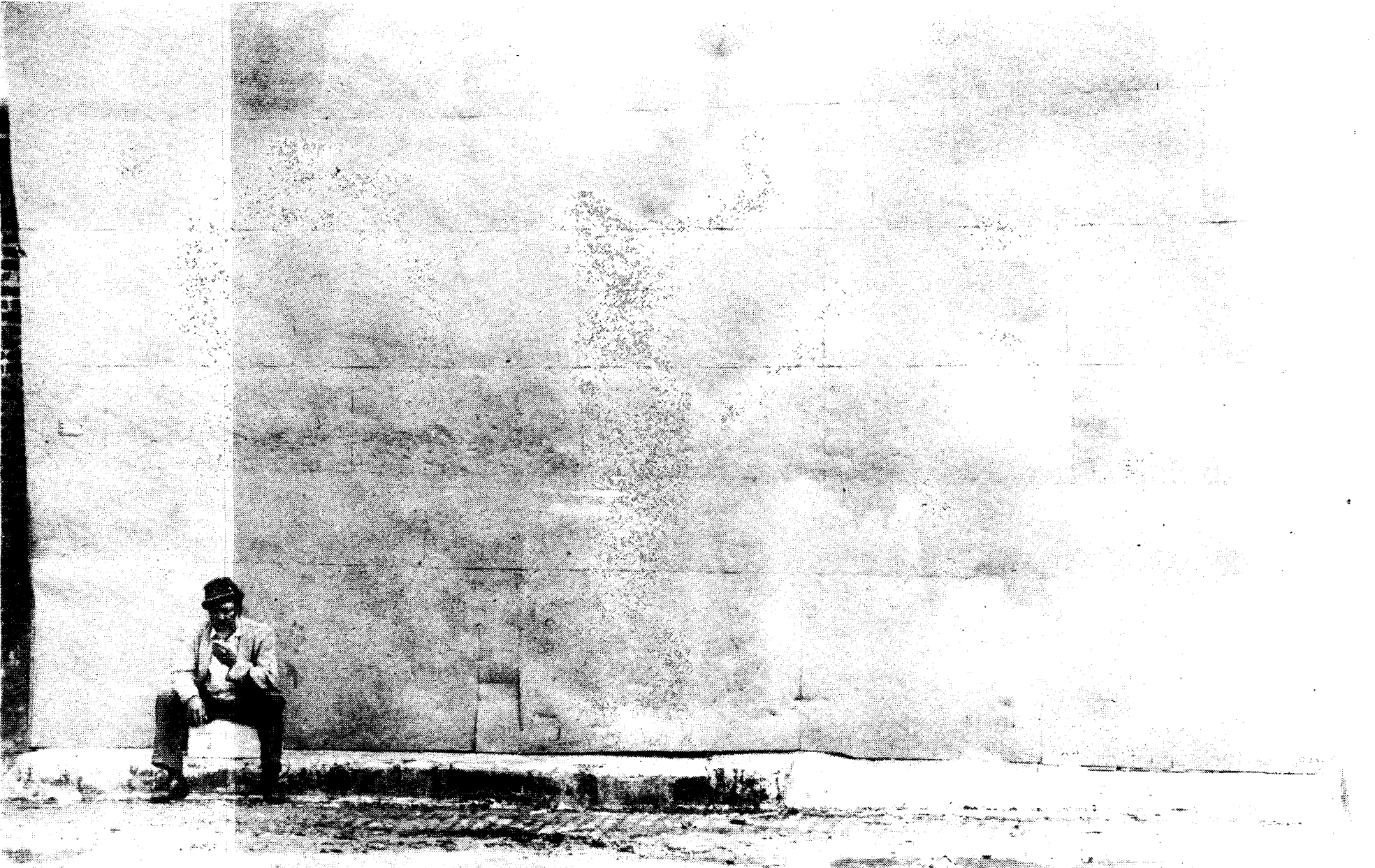
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John H. Johnson (left) chief executive of the largest black business in Chicago, typifies a rising number of blacks who have made it in the system. But at the same time the gap between Johnson and the average poverty-level black has widened precipitously.



Courtesy Chicago Reporter

The Declining Significance of Race is an important contribution to our understanding of the widening class divisions within black America. Wilson clearly portrays the increasingly deteriorating position of the black "underclass" and accentuates the need for policy attacking inequality on a "broad class front."

had risen to 35.3 percent.

Wilson's figures for occupational upgrading between 1960 and 1970 reflects only one side of the statistical picture. They indicate the rising percentage of black middle class males in relation to all other employed black men. However, the percentage of black middle-class men in relation to the total of all middle-class males reveals the racial side of the picture.

In 1970 black men constituted only 3.5 percent of all professional and technical workers. Only 1.2 percent of all lawyers and judges were black; of accountants, 1.7 percent were black; of engineers, 1.1 percent; of electricians, 3.1 percent; and of all stocks and bonds salesmen, only 1.3 percent were black. These figures speak more to the failure than to the success of equal employment legislation.

Blacks are still highly underrepresented at the higher-paying levels. They are concentrated in the lowest paying white-collar jobs, while white men preponderate in the managerial and professional.

In fact, since the recessionary trend beginning in 1974, capitalist America has offered far less job prospects to the "talented and educated" of either race. Expressing this crunch, the Bakke case and subsequent reverse discrimination suits pose the white middle class challenge to compensatory policies for blacks. The *New*

The modern black bourgeoisie differs from that of the past. Blacks move easily in the white corporate world, encountering little racial hostility, leading Wilson to conclude that class is now more important than race.

York Times reports medical school enrollments down for blacks, and that black law school enrollment leveled off in 1977.

Without an explicit racial policy, "the impersonal forces" Wilson describes do not guarantee the black middle class the capability to sustain and reproduce itself. Without affirmative action, educational admissions programs and racial quotas, talented and qualified blacks of past generations certainly made no headway in the white economic structure.

There are still two vital components—race and class—operative in contemporary race relations. Despite economic expansion and equal employment policy, black unemployment has remained twice that of whites since 1950. Today black teenagers suffer from 40 percent unemployment as compared to only 15 percent unemployed white teenagers. Over the last ten years black income has stood at 59 percent of white.

William J. Wilson has forced us to see the too-often overlooked class dynamic influencing the racial stagnation. He has convincingly argued for the greater significance of class, but has not as yet proven the declining importance of race.

Evelyn Brooks Barnett is a history graduate student at the University of Rochester.

At the same time, he prematurely suggests that "the powerful political and social movement against job discrimination" has successfully permeated the white-collar world. He notes that 24 percent of all black males held middle-class jobs in 1960; a decade later, the figure

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES THREATEN BLACK COLLEGES

BY FRANK ADAMS

The nation's melancholy record of systematically denying blacks a college education has unobtrusively entered a new phase. The racial firebrand standing in the doorway of a university to deny admission to blacks is gone. His place has been taken by the faceless administrator who, in the name of fairness and equality, promulgates policies that achieve much the same end.

These policies—particularly in the South where they have been pioneered—often are the results of administrative efforts to centralize control over higher education. On the surface, they are not aimed directly at blacks or at historically black colleges. The policies appear uniform and just. They are adopted as administratively effective, and as a step towards the illusory goal of "quality education."

But they are having a tremendous effect on black college enrollment and on the future of predominantly black colleges and universities.

Because blacks have been historically denied access to most colleges in the nation because of race, black schools have educated the vast bulk of black Americans, particularly doctors, lawyers and teachers. Enrollment at black colleges, however, has dropped 7 percent while the national enrollment average is up 4 percent.

This decline may be accelerated as states—at least across the South—adopt new admission criteria. In many instances the new criteria exceed the average performance levels for students hoping to enter black schools.

Elizabeth City State University in rural northeastern North Carolina, for instance, admits students with an average Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) score of 516. The state of North Carolina, one of ten under court order to end its dual system of higher education, is reportedly tinkering with a revised policy on SAT scores that would require a minimum score of 650. Some southern states now demand an SAT score of 750 or an ACT score of 9.0 for admission.

By raising the criteria for college entrance many blacks will never be admitted. But a potentially more insidious problem threatens predominantly black schools like Elizabeth City State. Traditionally, black colleges have attempted to start the teaching-learning process in accord with the student's abilities, not where the institution expects them to be by socially, often politically, predetermined, external standards. As Dr. James Lyons, vice president for academic affairs at Barber-Scotia College in Concord, N.C., recently noted:

"Many black students enroll at black colleges and universities because they do not feel ready to enter the white world. They fear hostility on the one hand, and uncertainty on the other. Some feel the effects of having been told that they are inferior, and as a result they begin to question their own worth. Thus, colleges such as Barber-Scotia become the place where these students are prepared to enter the white world. Those who have grown up insecure are made to feel that they are important human beings... In most of our freshman courses we spend time trying to develop a positive self-image. Once this door is unlocked the student stands a better chance of achieving his or her full potential."

Thus, by the single stroke of raising admissions criteria, state officials not only reduce the number of blacks potentially able to enroll but strike at the historic mission undertaken by most black schools—compensatory education opportunities.

Dr. Samuel L. Myers, executive director of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, last year interviewed the top administrative officers in 13 public and 12 private black colleges in the South about changing educational policies.

"They perceive," he said, "that officials, working backward, then devise a series of policies which, if rigidly adhered to, would cause the black college to self-destruct. Moreover, they believe, the policies are cleverly disguised and put into a uniform statewide framework with the assurance that adherence to the policies by the predominantly white institutions would have little impact on them. This perception of conscious deliberate

conspiracy was reflected by the statement, 'They are out to do us in,' articulated too often by too many respondents to be ignored."

Black administrators interviewed by Myers and his team of researchers expect even more administrative attacks in the near future. Several southern states are discussing shifting compensatory education programs to community colleges, for instance. This would further strip the black university of one of its primary, and most successful, functions.

This too is rationalized in the name of upgrading the predominantly black public university. While there are no such restrictions in effect, there are indirect restrictions that hint the shift may not be long in coming.

One such restriction derives from the widespread use of Full Time Equivalency (FTE) budgeting formulas. As Myers noted, "The budget formulas generally do not include funds to cover the additional compensatory education required. Indeed, if the classes are kept small to make possible more effective learning on the part of the students with academic deficiencies, the formula budget, if based on FTE, actually penalizes the colleges. In one state, if classes fall below ten students, the college is permitted to hold the classes; however, no funds whatever are provided."

The effect of these policies, which are common, is to force already underfinanced colleges to absorb the cost of compensatory education at the expense of expanding other programs, increasing faculty pay, or adding books to libraries.

The FTE formulas are important for two other budgetary reasons. First, as most black institutions have historically been the least able to finance new construction or adequately maintain what has already been built, most structures on black campuses are costly to maintain. At times upkeep is so large a cost factor the expense involved should be considered a capital appropriation. Of course, this isn't the way state auditors and other officials see it. These expenses must be accounted for as operating expenses. Thus, on the surface and in the eyes of penny-pinching legislators, the costs per pupil in a predominantly black school often appear higher than at white institutions.

FTE formulas are also used to allocate the supply of such academic necessities as chairs and tables, or plums like endowed chairs. The accumulated resources at predominantly white institutions, plus their usually higher enrollments, gives them a distinct advantage when this part of the budget pie is divided.

"To ignore this vast accumulation of resources and to ignore the historic deprivations of the black institutions in doling out resources on a current FTE is, in effect, perpetuating an inequity in the context of presenting a posture of equal treatment to all," Myers said.

Black colleges are being undermined in other ways, too.

Fiscal audits are often used to harass rather than as assessments for compliance. Grambling College in Louisiana has been the object of one such auditing in a much-publicized case that had the state's more ardent segregationists saying, "We told you so. They can't even run a college."

Black colleges have traditionally sought to keep tuition low to insure wide access. One southern state has proposed, and others are examining, budget policies for colleges that would reduce by an amount equal to the tuition income that would have been generated if each had a tuition as high as that of the state university. The effect at predominantly black schools would be to either force up tuition costs or cause a cut in budgets.

On another front, many southern black educators feel efforts by the federal government, now being copied by state governments, to cut off loans to current students penalize the wrong persons. The primary penalty is imposed not on the defaulters, but rather on the next generation of students, and on the enrollment and fiscal stability of the college. Moreover, they note that the colleges have little control over denying loans to qualified students and no control over collecting repayments.

It is not just in the South where these administrative actions are taking their toll on black educational opportunities. This spring, 150 black student leaders from Midwest schools formed the big Eight Council on Student Government to monitor what they perceived as administrative attacks on their programs. Among their proposals was the endorsement of faculty parity. They argued that the number of black faculty members should be at least proportionate to the number of black students enrolled.

Lorenzo Middleton and William A. Sievert, two reporters for *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in a nationwide survey of predominantly white college campuses completed in May found that "an uneasy undercurrent of racial disharmony and a simmering discontent" was seldom far from the surface on most campuses.

Administrators who condoned racially segregated campus activities were cited as one factor in the unrest. Blacks at Harvard, they reported, were understandably upset when several whites in KKK sheets ran through dormitories, and at the University of Missouri a burning cross was discovered in the yard of the school's only black fraternity house, and virtually no administrative action was taken.

Demagoguery has been replaced by benign bureaucratic control.

Frank Adams is author of *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander*.



Jane Melnick

IN THESE TIMES

Impasse in black and white

The impasse in black political movements, noted by most black leaders, parallels the general impasse in American politics. It is not defined by confusion over goals but by an unwillingness among both blacks and whites to confront their growing realization that the achievement of their goals requires a struggle to bring the U.S. to a new stage of its history—from its capitalist past to a socialist future.

The goals are clear enough: racial equality, social equality (as against class and sexist oppression), full employment, quality education, housing and health care for all, a vibrant democracy. These goals are shared by both blacks and whites.

The impasse has been made palpable precisely by the victories—but not the success—of the civil rights movement, as well as other reform movements of women and labor. Those movements have pressed against the outer limits of the corporate order. The conservative backlash much in evidence now is but the recoil from those limits. The impasse is the result of the inhibition to press beyond them.

The current debate among black leaders over whether class or race, unfulfilled civil rights or economic structure, is the key roadblock to progress, is really a debate over the nature of the impasse, and what to do about it.

No one questions whether racism in the U.S. is at an end. It isn't. The problem is where to go from here. Even those,

like Kenneth B. Clark, who hold that racism is still central in barring black progress and American democracy in general, recognize the economic dimensions of the situation. And those, like William J. Wilson and Rep. John Conyers, who stress the need to go beyond civil rights to the struggle for economic justice are not suggesting relinquishment of the civil rights battle. Both sides recognize that the two struggles are inextricably intertwined.

The question is whether progress can be sustained on both fronts without transforming the capitalist social order.

The more conservative black leaders, pointing to the real gains made by perhaps 20 percent of the black population since the civil rights breakthroughs of the 1960s, urge more of the same. As some NAACP leaders put it, the task is to consolidate the coalition of Big Government, Big Business and Big Minority.

Other black leaders note that this strategy has relegated a huge number of blacks to worsening material and spiritual conditions—to growing unemployment, poor housing, inadequate education and health care and family instability. And the gains have tended to divorce the better off blacks from concern for the plight of the majority.

This argument is indisputable, even by conservatives. But it is also indisputable that black leftists cannot produce a program to meet the needs of the black majority that stays within the limits of the

private economy or that has a chance of adoption within the present political order.

This brings us to the responsibility of the white left. It has not created a political alternative to the corporate order with which the black majority can align in an effective political coalition. In the absence of a socialist movement among Americans in general, the only realism for black political leaders is to seek allies to the right or left of the corporate center in the pursuit of reform.

As Rep. Conyers painfully puts it (interview, pp. 12-13), it makes no sense for him to advocate democratic socialism—there simply are no effective political allies now lying in that direction. He must persist with reform. But reform can no longer yield substantial gains in civil rights or in economic justice for the black majority. Thus the impasse.

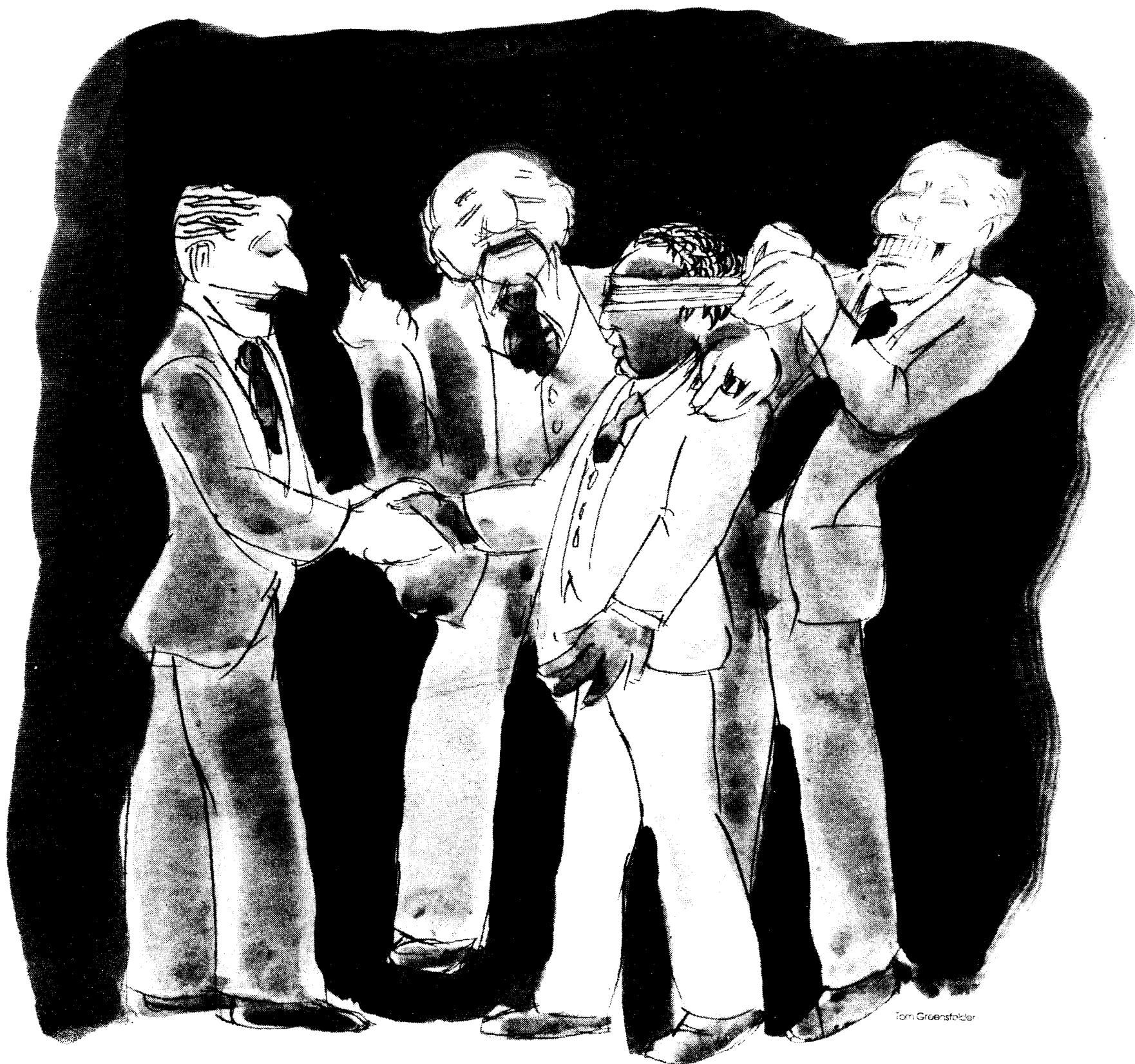
As Robert S. Browne, president of the Black Economic Research Center argues (*New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1977), without a full employment economy the black majority can make little further progress or protect themselves against deteriorating conditions. That will require "a significant evolution away from the free enterprise ethic," including an unprecedented "degree of economic planning," and "government enterprise in areas traditionally felt to be the preserve of private enterprise." For, "left to itself the economy is not going to solve the problem of black unemployment, nor will...income

maintenance and welfare reform."

The impasse in black is therefore also part and parcel of the impasse in white. White leftists know that the needs of Americans in general—from jobs to education to housing and health—cannot be met within the limits of the "private enterprise" order. They know that corporate power and genuine democracy are incompatible. Yet they have not committed themselves to challenging the "free enterprise" ethic frontally or to beginning the task of building a popular, explicitly socialist movement in the mainstream of American politics.

Given the left's evasion of its responsibility, the black movements must cast about for alternatives among corporate liberals and corporate conservatives, establishment Democrats and Republicans. These promise no real alternatives for the black majority, but are the only realistic politics available. The black left, in the process, is deprived of leverage against black conservatives, as well as against the white corporate establishment. The majority of Americans, moreover, find themselves without a political movement with credible solutions to modern problems and many of them are falling prey to racist and right-wing demagoguery, or to cynicism destructive of democratic impulses.

Breaking the black impasse requires breaking the white impasse. In the last analysis, it is an impasse of American democracy. ■



Tom Greenfelder

Letters

Too pro-Israel

I ENJOY READING THE MANY well-written articles in your newspaper, but I feel that you are somewhat hesitant in condemning Israeli settler-colonizing in Palestine and revealing the racist character of Zionism. Otherwise, keep up the good work.

—John W. Gilbert
Pittsford, N.Y.

Too anti-Israel

WHILE SOME OF THE EDITORIAL comments pertaining to the Middle East appear to be "even-handed," the anti-Israel bias in your news items and featured articles is most regrettable. Please consider the following:

- 1) Israel itself is a country of refugees.
- 2) The birth of Israel was facilitated by the UN at the urging of the delegate of the USSR. The U.S. and Great Britain continued to oppose the creation of Israel even though approximately 250,000 people were still in displaced persons camps with no state willing to admit them.
- 3) The response of the surrounding Arab rulers, most of whom had supported Hitler, was to launch a full-scale war before the new state could be formed. It was this war that brought about the flight of the bulk of the Palestinians.

4) Regardless of strong feelings of nationalism and religious exclusivism, it is the presence of a modern democratic state in their midst that is most disturbing to the Arab leadership. An organized working class, socialist ideas, a higher standard of living, liberated women, etc., is anathema to the kings and sheikhs and their outmoded social structures.

6) The perception of the PLO as some kind of radical and revolutionary force in the socialist sense is sheer nonsense. It is maintained by the dictators as a mercenary army.

6) The most influential of the Arab states, Saudi Arabia, which finances the PLO, has entered a new stage of economic development. It has become, royalty and all, the world's leader in the export of finance-capital. (Lenin's definition of imperialism). Its partnership with the multi-national oil companies is well-known.

The major issue then is still the right of Israel to exist. There are 20 Arab states and many of them are oil rich. Why not one tiny Israel? How heroic does one have to be to join with the entire world against Israel?

—Alvin Kogut
Far Rockaway, N.Y.

Dumpin' Donuts

THE NEWS THAT WINCHELL'S Donut House will not build in Ocean Beach has brought great relief to mem-

bers of PAW (People Against Winchell's). The donut chain was determined to proceed without compromise but their overconfidence proved they did not understand O.B. (See *ITT*, May 31.)

Ocean Beach (a small neighborhood in San Diego) has a history of militant resistance to redevelopment of its low and moderate income housing, which culminated in the establishment of the democratically elected O.B. Planning Board in 1976. As adviser to the California Coastal Commission the Board has been able to protect the small town atmosphere and scale of O.B. Though the board itself cannot stop development, the Coastal Commission has upheld most of its recommendations. To our surprise, last fall the Regional Coastal Commission approved Winchell's, and the State Coastal Commission refused to hear the case on appeal.

PAW formed, distributed bumper stickers and leaflets, and picketed the proposed site. Our letters and phone calls to corporate headquarters in La Miranda went unanswered.

It was only after last winter's fire bombings of two local Winchell's that the company acknowledged us, but even then, they had no interest in negotiating. PAW continued picketing and gathered the signatures necessary to put the Winchell's question to the voters of O.B. in the form of a non-binding referendum on our June 20 O.B. ballot. Then, just three weeks before our local election, Winchell's announced that they were backing out. The reason they gave was that no contractor would take on the project for a reasonable sum.

To Denny's/Winchell's, O.B. is just a figure on a balance sheet. In the end, it was the company's own inflexibility that destroyed the project. Their disrespect and arrogance toward the community hardened opposition to them. Our victory has shown that a community can fight back against the corporate intruder.

—Tom Yamaguchi
—Laura Lent
People Against Winchell's
San Diego, Calif.

Johnstone appreciated

HOORAY FOR DIANA JOHNSTONE. She has ardent fans. Her analysis of terrorism in Italy, general politics in France and Italy, and now the rape case in France (*ITT*, June 14) is much appreciated. I'm glad she's writing for you.

—Wini Breines
Cambridge, Mass.

Anti-government revolt

YOUR EDITORIAL, "IN THE wake of Jarvis-Gann" (June 14), omits an essential element of the Jarvis-Gann equation, namely the criticism of the government itself at all levels. Government is bloated with 17 million employees. Much of it is unacceptably inefficient concerning which almost every adult American has personal experience or has friends who tell him or her instances of gross waste. Pension ripoffs, excessive holiday and sick leave arrange-

ments, and half day work for full day pay are common in the government at all levels. Much of the government attitude towards citizens is domineering instead of respectful.

This widespread view of the American people of government arteriosclerosis should not be ignored by IN THESE TIMES but, on the contrary, should be continually investigated. This is not to paint the entire government with a single brush stroke but to expose unacceptable inefficiency and bureaucracy. The use of Ombudsmen, Sunset Laws, revision of the Civil Service rules and public financing of all elections would help remedy governmental inefficiency.

For a socialist newspaper, this problem is particularly important because socialism would inevitably increase the size and function of government at all levels. Thus, the government serving the people rather than dominating the people, is an issue not only for today but for the future.

—Lee Marsh
Berkeley, Calif.

Steady through times and tides

THANKS SO MUCH FOR THE wonderful article about Hobart McKean (*ITT*, June 14). I've been reading his letters and essays for quite a while and only recently found out my father is a friend of one of Hobart's sons. So seeing the article was like a dose of old home week.

I've admired Hobart McKean for years. It takes such strength to keep living one's politics when the times and tides have turned against them. I know I'm heartened to know of this person and his strength, and to become better aware of the political history of eastern Montana. May we all be living our politics as Hobart does when we're 80.

—Marie A. Root
Miles City, Mont.

Ask a worker

I WANT TO OBJECT TO YOUR photo section (*ITT*, June 14), "Images of Labor."

Implicitly, you repeat the fiction that the only people who work for a living are horny-handed miners, machinists, construction workers.

So, teachers, bank clerks, store salespeople are not "workers"? Why don't you ask a couple of them? Yet these are probably your major constituency.

Your prejudice may have made some sense 40 years ago. But this is, to end on a radical note, 1978.

—Samuel Schiffer
Los Angeles

More than lip-service wanted

I LIKE *ITT* BUT I AM QUITE DISAPPOINTED at the lack of feminist reporting. It seems that feminism is being paid lip service, but feminist-socialist analysis (an integrating approach) is absent. For instance the last issue had no hint of feminism except a plug by Gloria Steinem (who is hardly a socialist-feminist activist). If space is a problem we could do without the sports (male) coverage.

—Alice Adeo
Davis, Calif.

A pressing proposal

THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS does a horrible job of reporting the news. Not only is its reporting generally distorted, but on most critical matters it's non-existent. Each week, one can find in a paper such as *Le Monde*, hardly an organ of leftist propaganda, stories of major consequence concerning Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and even the U.S., which receive little or no coverage here.

The poor performance of the media in disseminating information should be

an immediate concern of the left. It will be difficult for a socialist movement to advance very quickly if the media that inform the overwhelming majority of the American people continue to ignore a vast quantity of news that would lend credibility to a leftist critique of society.

Publications such as IN THESE TIMES have an essential role to play which will increase in importance as a socialist movement grows. But we must not ignore those who obtain their news from the establishment media.

The left should be able to unite on this issue with community groups, labor groups, and some small businesses. Through petitions, and subscriptions and advertising boycotts, we can pressure the most vulnerable sections of the media, probably independent local newspapers, into meeting our demands for expanded coverage.

Cooperation with community groups should provide extremely valuable experience, which can be built upon to form a solid base for the left. The association of the left with the increased dissemination of information, should help to remove the image of totalitarianism that hangs over the left. This issue provides a unique opportunity which we cannot ignore.

—Dean Baker
Seattle, Wash.

Insensitivity to white ethnics

IN AN OTHERWISE USEFUL ARTICLE written, ironically, on Mayor Ed Koch's shabby treatment of the New York City Human Rights Commission (*ITT*, June 14), Nora Lapin shows an insensitivity to white ethnics often characteristic of liberal-left circles. After describing Koch's maneuvering in the hiring and firing of Commissioner Nieto Ortiz, Lapin comments:

"Acting Chairman Frank Mangino is an Italian-American from Queens, whom an elected official with close ties to the Commission described as a 'two-bit politician who can't speak a simple sentence, let alone enforce anti-discrimination law.'"

In choosing to highlight Mangino's ethnicity, while utilizing, and perhaps hiding behind, the above anonymous "expert" characterization, the author feeds directly into prevalent anti-Italian stereotypes, and therefore is guilty at least of insensitivity to the feelings of Italian-Americans. Because Mangino is an Italian-American, he is a stupid clubhouse politician (read mobster?) incapable of sensitivity to civil rights. Or so the structure of the statement encourages our biases, effortlessly, to extract.

The article's tactic here, whether intended by Lapin or not, is to add fire to the criticism of City Hall by tapping common anti-Italian prejudice. In so doing, an important statement is cheapened: If Mangino is incompetent, why not simply say so?

To those to whom my remarks sound severe, remember we are not dealing with literal precision, but with personal reaction that cannot disregard past abuse. Those of us who admit to our prejudices have learned to be wary of using group stereotypes to depict individuals—even when the stereotype seems an apt description. We do this to help break down prejudice, and show respect to those upon whose self-image society regularly tramples. But when it comes to white ethnics, many of us on the left stop short. Somehow, there the remarks remain funny.

The left's continued insensitivity to white ethnics remains morally troublesome, and fast is becoming a luxury we can ill afford. As a person on the left, I value Lapin's analysis. Yet, I deeply resent the slur, both as an Italian-American and as a person on the left.

—Tom DeLuca
Cambridge, Mass.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



"Gosh, General—72 isn't old for a war horse."

PERSPECTIVES

FOR A NEW AMERICA

Do colleges breed revolutionaries?

By Alvin W. Gouldner

The following is excerpted from Alvin W. Gouldner's commencement address at the New College University of South Florida, Sarasota, June 15.

The modern class struggle today is, in important part, a civil war in the ruling class. That this is no small matter we have known at least since Plato who observed that "all political changes originate in divisions of the actual governing power."

The university educated are scarcely the ineffectual and impractical visionaries of conventional caricatures. They have been a decisive force in the political turbulence and in the main revolutions of the 20th century. Why is it that privileged young persons come to oppose, and oppose bitterly, the very society that privileges them?

One basic source of the alienation of the educated is largely economic and can be termed "blocked ascendance." This simply means that those whose careers had experienced some success, who had been on their way up, but who—for various reasons—find their way upward suddenly blocked may well become alienated from their society.

Career blockages are not peculiar to the intelligentsia of the Third World but are found also, indeed increasingly, in the first and second world. The emerging overproduction of educated manpower, the growing glut of Ph.D.s in Western Europe and the U.S., is structurally very similar.

As the glut of educated manpower in the U.S. grows, there is reason to suppose that here, too, intellectuals will exhibit a growing alienation. Indeed, this alienation may in time make the campus rebellions of the '60s seem comparatively mild. Each year, the American labor force—if it cannot be said to be increasingly educated—is at least increasingly "schooling." According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1952 the labor force had an average of 10.9 years of schooling; by 1974 this had risen to 12.5 years of schooling. In this same period, the proportion of the labor force that completed at least four years of college nearly doubled, rising from about 8 to 15 percent. Russell Flanders, a division head of the BLS, maintains (*Occupational Outlook*, Spring 1977) that the proportion of college graduates in the labor force is still increasing and may reach about 20 percent by 1985—one year after George Orwell's prophesied "D-Day."

Universities have no monopoly on critical discourse, but they are the most important source of dissidents.

As a result, there has been a continuing spillover of college graduates into jobs they had formerly avoided, that is, into clerical, service, and blue-collar jobs. Moreover, there has been a precipitous decline in the number of school teaching jobs available to college graduates: "The 1970s witnessed a drop in the total demand for elementary and secondary school teachers. Between 1972 and 1976 an average reduction of 13,000 in new teaching jobs occurred. The average annual increase in demand for college teachers declined [after 1976] to 14,000 a year from 26,000 a year..., which had been the average between 1967 and 1971." (*Occupational Outlook*, Summer 1973.)

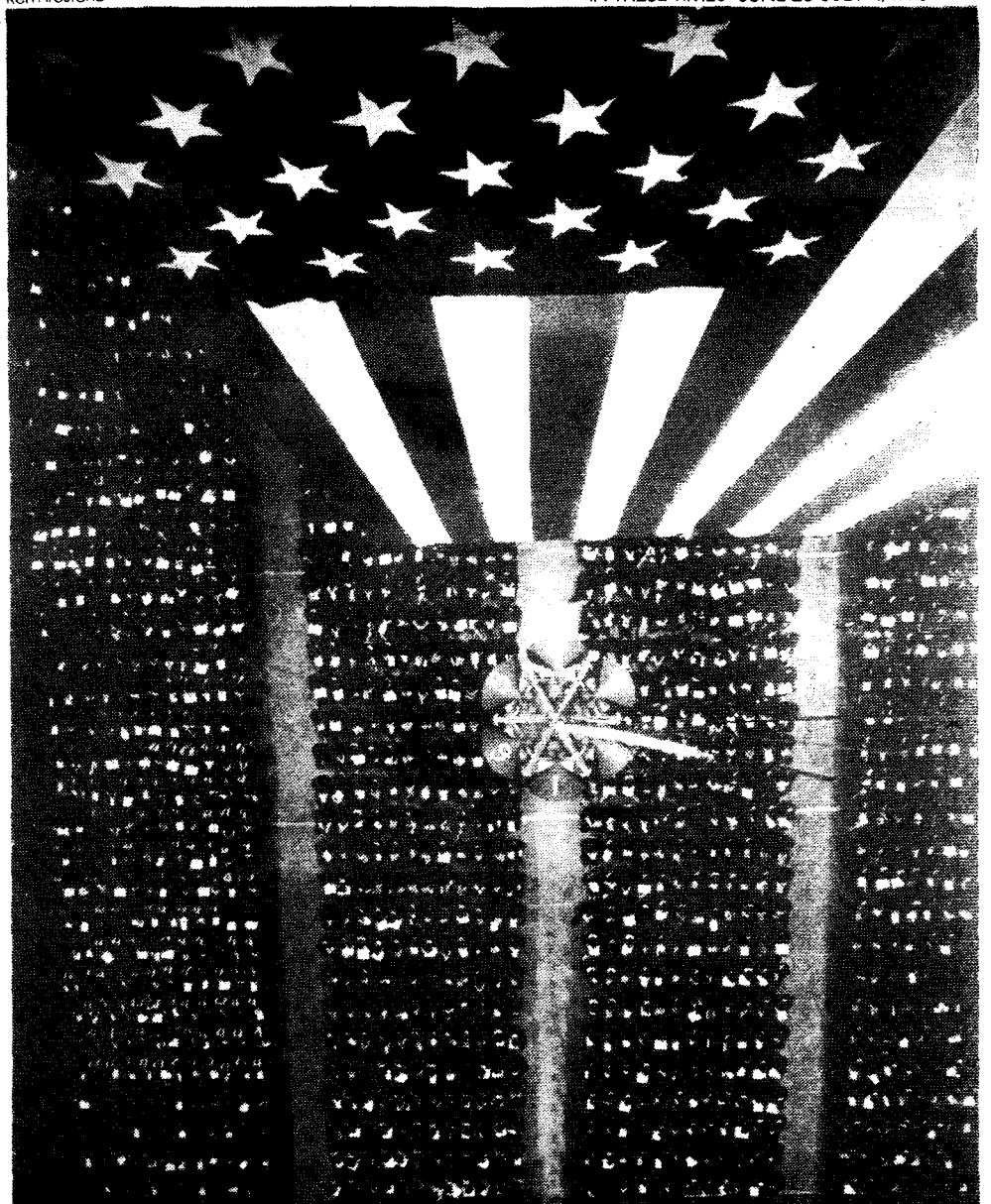
Between 1972 and 1985, it has been estimated that the available supply of Ph.D.s will be about 580,000, while job openings for doctorates will be only about 187,000. (*Occupational Outlook*, Winter 1975.)

There is good reason to suppose, then, that the market situation will in the foreseeable future increasingly block the ascendance of those with advanced educations. If the growing oversupply of the educated also increases their alienation, it will not be the first time this has happened in the West. It has recently occurred in Western Europe and Japan. It happened also during the '30s—in England, the U.S., France, not to speak of Germany where it sent many intellectuals into the Nazi movement.

Indeed, it is precisely because of the Nazi experience of the '30s that it should not be glibly supposed that the alienation of intellectuals necessarily means their leftward movement. Alienation and radicalization are not the same. Alienation can also be the first step toward a political rendezvous with the extreme right.

While blocked ascendance is plainly one important factor fostering the alienation of many young intellectuals, it is surely not the only factor.

The alienation of young intellectuals can start before they experience career blockages. But how is this possible? Upon what does such an early alienation depend?



Will this graduating class help revive the left?

I shall mention here only one important inducement to the early alienation of young intellectuals, this is the "culture of critical discourse" they bear. The culture of critical discourse is produced in various quarters in our society but most importantly in our educational system.

The university system has no monopoly on the production of the culture of critical discourse; nonetheless, the university and college system is the most important source by which this culture has been mass produced and indeed, there have even been some who once regarded this as the essence of a college education.

To put it succinctly, the culture of critical discourse insists that any assertion—about anything by anyone—is open to challenge and criticism, and that if challenged, no assertion can be defended by invoking authority. It forbids a reliance upon a speaker's position in society, or upon his personal character, in order to justify his claims.

In this view, then, intellectuals are es-

entially a speech community and their common ideology is an ideology about discourse and how it should properly be conducted. This ideology is alienating and even radicalizing because it demands the right to sit in judgment over *all* claims and assertions, regardless of how high and mighty those making them are. Under the scrutiny of the culture of critical discourse, all claims to truth are in principle now equal; traditional authorities are now stripped of their special right to define social reality. The credit normally given to the claims of those with worldly success, to the rich and powerful, now needs to be hidden if not withdrawn, because it comes to be defined as illicit and unworthy.

As a distinct speech community, the highly educated in general, and intellectuals in particular, manifest distinctive speech patterns: for example, their speech is more analytical and abstract and less concrete and specific; they employ more

Continued on page 20.

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PERSPECTIVES

FOR A NEW AMERICA

Continued from page 19.

references to books and use more book-derived words and ideas. The speech of intellectuals also involves a great insistence on conforming to a proper pattern of speech and of hewing to the proprieties of discourse rather than attending to the reaction of others as the speech is made. There is, therefore, less gathering up of group support during the discourse and less sensitivity about the danger of speech rupturing the solidarity of the group. Intellectuals also commonly use bigger, more difficult words, and longer, more structurally convoluted and complex sentences; they engage in more talk about talk and manifest more linguistic narcissism. The speech style of intellectuals, then, is relatively more context-independent and manifests a greater cosmopolitanism.

If this enables intellectuals to commune with others who are distant and enter into solidarities with those elsewhere, it also impairs their capacity for solidarity with those in their own communities. Their speech may thus be freer of the local version of common sense, or freer to give it offense. The culture of discourse common to intellectuals, then, allows them access to beliefs and ideas from distant places and times which may be used to challenge the common sense of the local community or the claims of local notables. The culture of critical discourse can thus be an alienating and even radicalizing grammar of communication; it tacitly embodies a politics.

Insofar as the modern university or college teaches or tolerates the culture of critical discourse, it is a contradictory social institution: for while the university rarely teaches rebellion, its culture of discourse may, nonetheless, enable young people to learn it. While most schools are designed to teach what is adaptive for the society's master institutions, still, insofar as they are hospitable to the culture of critical discourse they foster an ideology by which traditional authority may be undermined, deviance fostered, the status quo challenged, and dissent systematically produced—even if all done unwittingly and unintentionally.

John Dewey was correct, then, when he said that the conservatives were right for "if we once start thinking, no one can guarantee where we shall come out, except that many objects, ends and institutions are doomed. Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place."

It is not just intellectuals' blocked ascendance, then, that alienates them but an interaction of forces, specifically the interaction of these market forces with a university cultivated culture of critical discourse. The alienation of young intellectuals, then, rests on a combination of two factors: The success of the educational system and the failure of the job market. A society that prizes education and instills an ambition for it, a society that uses education to foster critical thought, but then proceeds to frustrate the ambitions of those who worked hard to acquire that education—such a society is careless of its own future survival.

Alvin W. Gouldner is the Max Weber Research Professor of Social Theory, Washington University, St. Louis. He is the author of *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* and *The New Class Project* (forthcoming, Seabury Press, New York).

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By Anita Diamant

MECANICAL MARXIST critics of sports delight in painting the horrors of a lobotomized working class, "opiated" and prostrate before tubes alight with basketball, baseball and—worst of all—football. Paul Hoch's cranky book, *Rip Off The Big Game* goes as far as charging that "a worker who is so busy rooting for the Yankees that he forgets that his real wages are declining is a good bet to be so busy rooting for the Yanks in Vietnam that he forgets that his son might get killed there."

Statements like that succinctly demonstrate why the wide-spread distrust of Marxists and socialists is sometimes a healthy response by American working people.

But lost inside the fire-and-brimstone critiques of sport is a valid warning. Sport in our society is a rip-off of people's anger, frustration and emotions.

Spectating is the favorite and most vulnerable subject for socialist sports criticism. But the phenomenal increase in

sports participation shares some of the negative, as well as the liberatory elements of sports watching.

Sports makes life a little more bearable because it slows down the ruin that standing still, sitting still, repeating one or two motions over and over, or just working 40 or 50 or more hours a week can wreak on a body. It replaces mental and physical numbness and decay with mental and physical release.

Sports is an active, rather than passive escape. Unlike television or beer, its after-effects include better sleep and the deep satisfaction of sore muscles.

Solitary athletic pursuits, from running and swimming to yoga and gymnastics, are a lot like meditation. Breath control, rhythm and solitude can relax the stranglehold of a lousy day at work. It can also erase some of the emotional pain of "private" life as well.

Group sports discharge energy and tension in a faster and more exhausting setting. The mind-set needed to execute any play demands that everything else be put

aside, if only for a few hours. And the exertion can put enough distance between you and your problems to make it all seem more manageable.

When things get bad enough again, the gym is always there.

None of this is to say that sports are an "opiate." But it is helpful to look at the burden that sport carries in our society. To many black kids, sports dangles a way to buy themselves and their families out of poverty. What happens to fun in that context?

I've recently become friends with a number of life-long sports freaks. And when things go bad in their lives (i.e., making decisions, the prospect of aging, jobs, relationships) their hours in the gym, on the court, or the track increase in proportion to the pain they seek to avoid.

Sports can kill time, passion, loss, and finally, any kind of emotional trauma. In a society where there are few if any satisfactory ways to resolve personal conflicts, to make work meaningful, creative or expressive of self, sports become top heavy.

That's not an opiate. It's a way to survive. Survival skills aren't always the most liberatory. The amenities often go when it's a matter of fighting for a little self-determination, a little control, a little beauty in your life.

Criticism of sport by socialists has to respect the needs that all the "play" fulfills in a society that posits a scarcity of any kind of "winners." And socialists must also help imagine the ways it can be different—the ways to retrieve play from its often-grim incarnations under capitalism.

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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

The ordeal of Frances Farmer

SHADOWLAND

By William Arnold
McGraw-Hill, New York, \$9.95

The story told in this book is paralleled only by the atrocity stories—also true—that came out of the Nazi concentration camps. The difference is that the solitary victim in this narrative was an American motion picture star, who was destroyed—not by Hollywood alone, but by her mother, native reactionaries, including a vigilante judge, and the psychiatry business that likes to call itself a science.

Frances Farmer started her home town—Seattle—at 16 by winning a national high school essay prize with a piece entitled "God Dies." That sort of thing did not sit well in the community, and before she was out of college, she did something even worse. She won a circulation contest run by a northwest Communist newspaper and (over the objections of her formidable mother) insisted on accepting the prize—a VIP tour of the Soviet Union.

When she returned, insisting that she was not a Communist, she had high praise for what the USSR was trying to do for its people. Its theater, she said, had been her main reason for making the trip. She was 20 years old and had a mind of her own.

With the publicity still coast-to-coast, she was offered a screen test and proceeded to make a number of important films. While her talent as an actress was limited, she had enormous charm. Also, she was an outspoken unaffiliated radical who hated Hollywood and said so, who left Lotussland to go to New York and wound up as the female lead in the Group Theatre's production of Clifford Odets's hit play, *Golden Boy*.

This compounded her problems with the American Vigilantes of Washington, who had never forgiven her for her "atheistic essay" in *Scholastic* magazine and her trip to the USSR. They announced that the Group Theatre was a Communist outfit and that Frances had again brought disgrace on Seattle and the state. One of the leading Vigilantes vowed they would get even "if it were the last thing they ever did."

Odets was another problem. Frances had become disillusioned with the Group (to which she had donated important sums of money from her Hollywood earnings), and Odets was assigned to keep her from breaking with it and going west again. Odets had a thing about women, especially movie stars. He hated them and he pursued them. Frances fell in love with him, and when she had agreed to stay on in New York, he dumped her—having humiliated her publicity before he brutally rejected her. It was a fitting prologue to his subsequent career as a flaming radical of the '30s who became a stoic pigeon before HUAC.

Frances returned to Hollywood, made a series of even less important films, started to drink too much and was stopped one night by a traffic cop for driving in a dim-out zone (the war was on)



Frances Farmer, before and after her clash with the cops.

She was repeatedly subjected to insulin and electro-shock—all to no effect.

with her bright lights on. She talked back to him, and he arrested her—for drunk driving.

The rest of the story is incredible.

One arrest led to another. One newspaper harpy after another told lies about her personality and her behavior. She was sent to a private sanitarium by her mother and ultimately committed to the notorious Hospital for the Insane at Steilacoom by Judge John A. Fraser, a member of the American Vigilantes of Washington State.

Steilacoom was the "snake-pit" we all saw—much prettier up—in the Olivia de Havilland film of the same title. It was described by many observers as a Nazi concentration camp. The violent ward into which young Frances Farmer was thrown, head shaved and naked, was jammed with shrieking, naked inmates of all ages and sexes, who lived in their filth, had sex with each other consensually or by force.

Frances was in and out of Steilacoom over the next several years. She was repeatedly subjected to insulin and electro-shock, injected with every mind-altering drug in the pharmacopeia, all to no effect. Her "case" became so celebrated in the profession that "alienists" from all over the U.S. came to observe this young woman who could not be persuaded to cooperate with her tormentors and could not be broken by their assaults on her body and her mind.

She was also held down on the floor by orderlies and raped by other patients, by the orderlies themselves and by groups of drunken soldiers from Fort Lewis who were given access to the helpless female inmates.

There is evidence, which William Arnold uncovered, that makes it apparent she was subjected to a new form of lobotomy called transorbital because the ice-pick-like instrument used to sever the nerves connecting the thalamus to the cerebral cortex is inserted behind the eyeball. Lobotomy often leaves its victims

vegetables for the rest of their lives; the transorbital variation is said to be superior to the prefrontal.

So was Frances Farmer "cured" in 1948—of her non-conformism, her rebelliousness and brilliant mind, her radical ideas, her refusal to "cooperate with her 'doctors,' and whatever artistic talent she had developed. At the age of 35 she was released in 1950. She died of cancer of the esophagus in 1970.

Arnold's book is a polemic aimed at the "mental health industry," and it will terrify anyone who has ever had anything to do with the psychiatric "arts."

"Psychiatric associations have battled off attempts to outlaw shock therapy in numerous states. The big pharmaceutical companies continue recklessly to market the maze of mind-controlling drugs before their side effects are thoroughly known..."

"Even more ominous is the fact that, after a 15-year fallow period... (psychosurgery) is now undergoing a world-wide resurgence... and as the procedures become more simple... the possibility of their use by a totalitarian government as a means of mass mind control becomes chillingly possible." Should such a state of things come to pass, the USSR would not be the only nation accused of hospitalizing dissidents and "altering" their minds.

Says Arnold, "The mentality of the system which deals with supposedly abnormal behavior is virtually unchanged since the 1940s. The chance of an individual like Frances Farmer being trapped and destroyed by this system is as real today as it was then. The bitter legacy of her story is not that such a fate could strike a public figure protected by the privileges of celebrity, but that it can happen to anyone."

—Alvah Bessie
Alvah Bessie knew Frances Farmer in the Group Theatre and saw her again in San Francisco in 1957. He concurs with others who knew her before and after the asylum experience that she was "not the same woman."

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Records

EASTER

Patti Smith
(Arista Records)

Rock music is a powerful force, and Patti Smith is a true believer in its transcendent power. Her latest album, *Easter*, is a testament to her beliefs—highly religious, rich with spiritual metaphors, inspired and unified by a vision of rock as salvation, the reunification of the senses.

Although this spirituality lends coherence to the album, *Easter* is uneven. Smith is prone to stylistic excess. Sometimes she tries to get too much into one song. For example, "Rock and Roll Nigger," which casts the rock musician as outsider, as apostle, in a strained analogy to the oppression of blacks. Smith ignores the power relationships implicit in the use of the term with surprising insensitivity to the power of language. And a few lines of her modernist poetry, hissed as preface to the

song, hang without connection.

There are other instances of artistic overindulgence detracting from the total impact. But when Patti Smith does fuse the disparate elements of her style, she is among the best rock performers around. Her work combines strong vocals, sparse phrasing, evocative lyrics and driving rock music into compelling songs.

"Set Me Free" intersperses the lyrics with passages from the 23rd Psalm in a song that employs religious images as metaphors of rock and roll stardom. "Ghost Dance" adapts a Plains Indian chant into a slow and haunting song about rebirth and renewal.

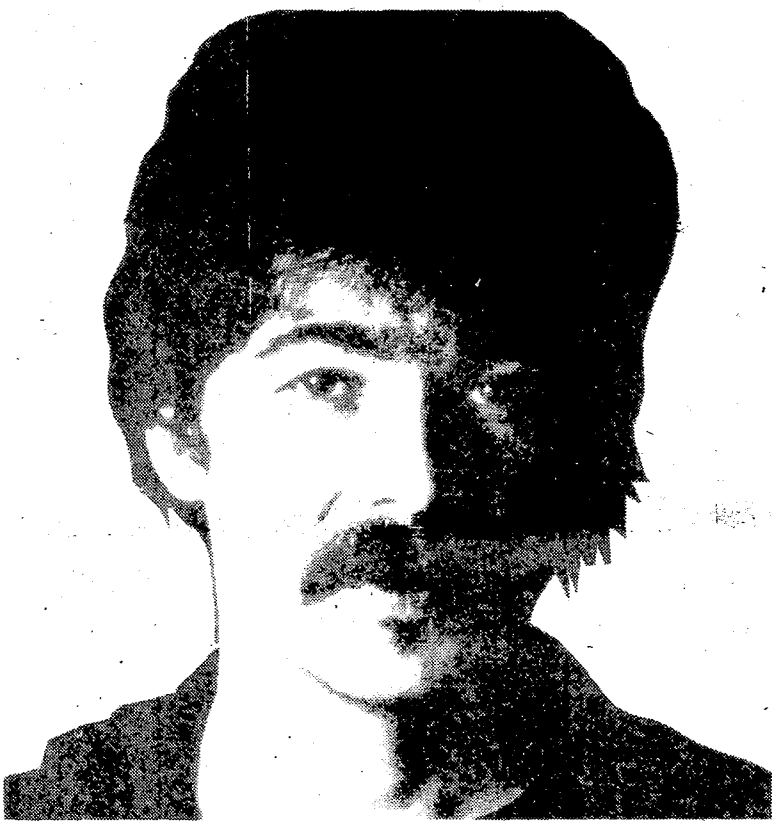
Smith pays tribute to the earlier prophets of her vision in "Till Victory," a biting rock homage to Goddard and New Wave cinema. In "Easter" she kneels before the burning religious passion of Rimbaud, seeing his resurrection as the regeneration of rock and roll.

Smith is capable of creating finely crafted rock and roll songs that stand on their own without the record's theme. "Because the Night," co-authored with Bruce Springsteen, is a brilliant song, combining soothing verses that lead to a driving chorus. The album's single, it is currently soaring up both AM and FM charts.

The backup band of Lenny Kaye (guitar), Ivan Kral (guitar), Jay Daugherty (drums) and Bruce Brody (keyboards) is superb, remaining sensitive to the subtle changes that mark Smith's vocal delivery and the strength of the music. *Easter* is not a record for everyone, nor is it perfect. But it is an impressive rock album by a visionary performer who emerges as the high priestess of rock.

—Michael S. Kimmel

Michael S. Kimmel is a freelance writer in Berkeley who reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



BRUISED ORANGE

John Prine
(Asylum Records)

John Prine's music has consistently blended compassion for the lonely and outcasts with an acidic

wit for the ironies of middle American life. On *Bruised Orange*, his first record in three years, Prine mixes wit and pathos as easily as he moves between electric rock tunes and slow acoustic ballads.

Prine has gained a well-deserved

reputation as one of the few singer/songwriters able to sensitively portray the bitter aftertaste of shattered dreams of ordinary men and women. "The Hobo Song" is a classic folk song that recalls the rough life of the disappearing hobos while a star-studded group of vocalists sings the anthemic chorus.

On "Bruised Orange (Chain of Sorrow)" Prine sings about the self-constructed trappings of self pity:

...for a heart stained in anger
grows weak and grows bitter
you become your own prisoner
as you watch yourself sit there.

It is one of his best songs.

Prine is comfortable writing in both rock and folk styles. "Fish and Whistle" and "That's the Way the World Goes Round" are humorous and lighthearted songs set to fingerpicking acoustic guitar. "Crooked Piece of Time" is a hard rocker reminiscent of Bob Dylan's rock style on *Planet Waves*. "There She Goes" is a classic country western tune with biting satiric lyrics.

Prine's combination of pathos and ironic wit is best expressed on "Sabu Visits the Twin Cities Alone," a plaintive song about a promotional tour promoting



The Elephant Boy's movies in the Midwest. Bonnie Kolac adds a haunting harmony.

Bruised Orange was produced by Prine's friend and occasional co-author Steve Goodman, who remains faithful to both the lyrics and the musical intentions of Prine's songs. An exceptional talent, Goodman also appears on most cuts playing and singing behind his friend.

John Prine is currently on a nation-wide concert tour that coincides with the release of the album. In his concerts Prine mixes

his old standbys ("Sam Stone," "Hello in There," "Blue Umbrella," and "Paradise") with much of his new material, moving easily between solo acoustic ballads and his more raucous rockers with his tight and tasteful backup band (which includes a superb Howard Levy on piano, organ, steel drums, piccolo and harmonica).

Both in concert and on his new record, John Prine demonstrates that he is one of the most clever and versatile performers around.

—Michael S. Kimmel

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Don Carl Stoffan

Our last frontier: Scrambling for Alaska

All we have left
as a primal place
to go....

COMING INTO THE COUNTRY

By John McPhee
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New
York, 1977

"Alaska runs off the edge of the imagination," writes John McPhee. "This so-called 'last frontier'...is certainly all of that, yet for the most part it is not a frontier at all, but immemorial landscape in an all but unapproached state." It is also, as we all know now, a battleground on which the primal forces of Preservation and Exploitation, Conservation and Development, are squared off.

One of the country's best journalists, McPhee has written more than a dozen graceful, powerful books. He is not only a specialist in portraiture and the "atmospheric pressure" of things, but a lover of the outdoors, vitally concerned with the meaning of Progress. He has become famous for fair, objective appraisals.

In Alaska, McPhee's grand talent meets a grand subject.

In three settings—a kayak trip in the northern ranges, the search for a new state capital and a visit to the Yukon bush country—*Coming into the Country* gives us an encyclopedia knowledge of

the land and its people. Trappers, developers, Aleuts, mountain men and women, bush pilots, retirees, "high country" folks—hundreds of people walk in and out of the pages, talking about themselves and Alaska.

What usually surfaces in the reader's mind at the end of a McPhee book—a heightened awareness of wilderness and civilization and the necessities of the human spirit—is here given added strength and definition.

Throughout Alaska McPhee finds a constant public and private concern with the fate of the land. Every Alaskan—to say nothing of Texas oilmen—seems to have an opinion on what they call "the Sierra Club syndrome vs. the Dallas scenario." With the state on the brink of "Americanization" (as is especially evident in McPhee's description of Anchorage), we wish the author's own opinion were more strongly stated.

He does not argue; he presents many arguments by others. But he does say, "In the society as a whole there is an elemental need for a frontier outlet, for a primal place to go—important even to those who do not go there. People are mentioning outer space as, in this respect, all we have left. All we have left is Alaska, which, on the individual level, and by virtue of its climate, will always screen its own, and will not be overrun."

Fine brave words. But as Colman McCarthy recently noted in the *Washington Post*, it did not take thousands of people to cre-

ate modern Appalachia. Already the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (HR 39), which originally sought to protect 115 million acres of public land, has been cut to 95 million in committee.

Perhaps in five years, when McPhee plans to return for another report, there will have been "developments" that test even his equanimity and impartiality.

—Peter T. Bohan
Peter T. Bohan lectures at University of Illinois' Circle Campus.

Unique experiment in American capitalism

LOST FRONTIER: The Market- ing of Alaska

By John Hanrahan and Peter Gruenstein
With an introduction by Ralph Nader
W.W. Norton & Co., New York,
1977, \$10.95

Ten years after the North Slope oil strike, after the construction of a pipeline that is the world's largest, most expensive and environmentally disastrous man-made work, few Americans realize just what Alaska is or why large corporations have been spending billions of dollars in "Seward's Folly" to get it.

In *Lost Frontier: The Marketing of Alaska*, John Hanrahan and Peter Gruenstein, former in-

vestigative reporters for the *Washington Post*, have put together an expose of our 49th state, peopled with a cast of characters one might expect to meet in a John Ford movie, set against some of the most stunning land imaginable. Instead of opposing groups of ranchers, Indians and railroad barons, there are fishermen, Eskimos and Teamster leaders. And over 500,000 square miles of resource-rich land to be divided up and exploited.

As they say in Anchorage, it's a tug of war between "Boomers," who favor unfettered exploitation of the enormous mineral resources, and "No-growthers," who call for planned development. In this context, the building of the Alaska pipeline was a major victory for the Boomers. But No-growthers have considerable clout, particularly through Gov. Jay Hammond, as unlikely a Republican as you could find.

Thanks to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (passed by Congress and signed by President Nixon in 1971), the various Eskimo tribes hold the keys to most of the wealth. They were awarded the choicest parcels of land, which puts 12 regional and 220 village corporations of natives on a par with IBM, General Motors and U.S. Steel.

Although this "unique experiment in American capitalism" has made the Eskimo corporations rich, their prosperity has often been achieved at the expense of the 80,000 shareholders. (All Alaskans one-quarter Eskimo at the time the Settlement Act was passed are shareholders.) For example, the profit motive has led native corporations to sell offshore oil explorations rights, even though this could result in the destruction of the nation's richest fishing grounds, which have provided most of the natives' food and work.

The ironies of Alaska are never-ending. The office of Teamster leader Jesse Carr reflects an opulence "so lush...it would bring a flush of pride to the cheeks of the chairman of IBM." Boss Carr has negotiated contracts that earn the 25,000 Alaska Teamsters between \$1,000 and \$1,500 a week. The regional Teamsters' pension fund has over \$100 million and is mushrooming with each new wage settlement. But few workers who contribute get to benefit, and serious ethical questions have been raised over how the fund has been handled.

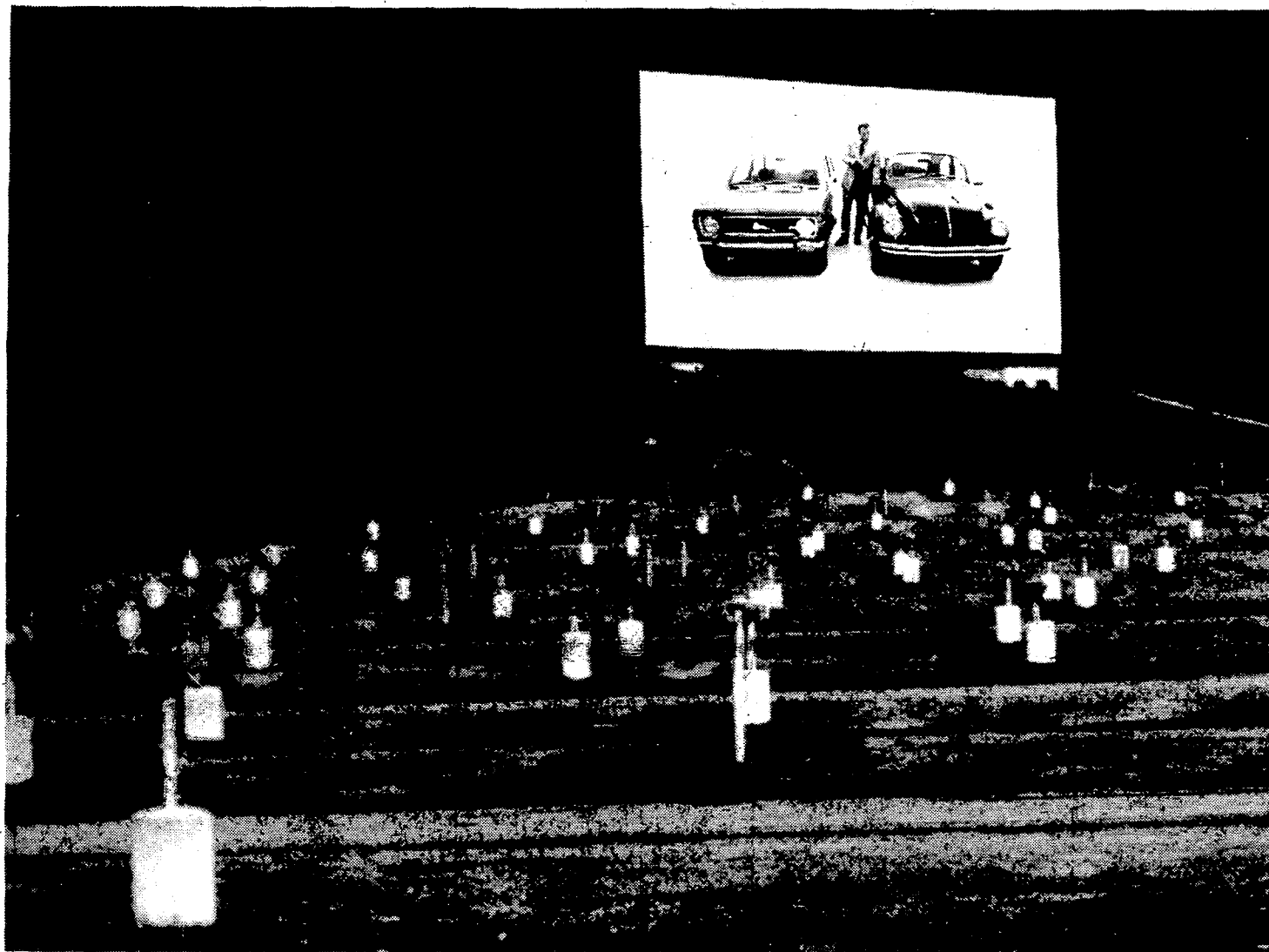
"Standing alone," Hanrahan and Gruenstein write, "the Teamsters' political and economic influence in Alaska would be impressive enough. In concert with the state's dominant industry (oil), the state's most widely read and influential newspaper (the *Anchorage Times*) and the state's business establishment, the Teamsters' power is nothing less than awesome, and very dangerous."

Lost Frontier is more than an account of the people and forces at work in one state. Because of Alaska's unique society (a rough and tumble frontier society existing in an age of ordered technology where the typical inhabitant "wants to urinate off his front porch and yell for an hour without anyone answering") and because of the mineral and agricultural wealth opening up as we enter an age of scarcity, decisions made in Anchorage and Juneau will have a direct bearing on how the U.S. as a whole evolves.

—Josh Martin
Josh Martin is a free-lance writer in New York.

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Madison Avenue goes to the movies



"This is an instance of a company putting the ties in gingerly. When the public becomes acclimated, you'll start seeing all kinds of crap."

By Amy Rennert

Next time you want to get away from the hustle and hard sell of it all, don't count on quiet relaxation before the silver screen.

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Already many of the big movie distribution chains, including United Artists and Mann, have screened slick, professional ads for such products as Seiko clocks and Chryslers. Some 20 million patrons have seen the ads in the 3,000 theaters that show them.

Screenvision, the New York distributor of the ads, has started penetrating the "fourth network" in a way entirely different from the local advertising that has been around at drive-ins and small theaters for a long time.

"I don't expect the public to be thrilled

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Screenvision's first ad for Seiko brought in \$100,000; McIntosh projects that the company will probably be doing \$40 million annually in three years.

According to theater owners who have opened their doors to advertisers, the added revenue is desperately needed to fight inflation.

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The cost to advertisers is almost twice what they pay for prime-time television

as film audiences are deemed more affluent and sophisticated than TV watchers.

"We're very pleased so far with the advertising. There haven't been too many problems concerning patron complaints," says Milton Daly, East Coast general manager for the United Artists Theater Circuit. "The commercials won't bring ticket prices down—I don't know anything going down in today's economy—but I don't anticipate a rise in prices. Prices vary depending on location, averaging approximately \$4 in New York City."

Unlike television, films are not being interrupted with a word from a sponsor, and McIntosh promises all concerned that commercials will always be before and after the feature attraction.

Not everyone is convinced. The manager of a small San Francisco theater said, "This is an instance of a company putting ties in gingerly. It's a go-slow attitude. When the public becomes acclimated to the situation advertisers will forget about producing top-quality commercials, and we'll start seeing all kinds of crap on the screen just like TV. And who knows how long they'll be?"

So far Screenvision has set an absolute maximum of three minutes worth of commercials at a showing and the average ad time has been one minute. But in Paris, its well-established parent corporation, Media Vision, distributes ads that are screened for up to ten minutes in some European theaters. Media Vision sells \$20 million in advertising annually.

"Even now the commercials irritate me," the manager persists. "Imagine turning on the Rolling Stones at full volume after a Truffaut film. Well, ads have the same effect because any commercial anytime destroys a mood that has been carefully and delicately created by producers and directors."

While several owners concur that no commercials makes for better overall presentations, a wait-and-see attitude appears widespread.

"Personally, I'm not in favor of ads and I'm not using them now, but they may become a necessity in the future for financial reasons," says Max Blumenfeld, owner of a small chain of Bay Area theaters. "Of course our decision depends in part on what audiences are willing to accept."

Judging from the mere 100 complaints received to date by Screenvision and the lack of complaints pouring into advertisers and consumer organizations, moviegoers aren't putting up much of a fight.

"No theater we've signed with has left us," McIntosh says. In fact our business is growing. We are reaching one-third of the country's first-run theaters."

Screenvision has set up the machinery so that advertisers can reach a national audience. The company is testing markets scattered across the states in urban, suburban and rural areas.

The launching of commercials for beers—Anheuser-Busch is one of Screenvision's newest clients—raises questions about whether or not there will be liquor and tobacco advertising bans—or any restrictions at all.

Concerns for what's to come run the gamut from the rational to the ridiculous. Who knows, one critic mused, maybe ten years from now Bob Hope will have new categories to give awards for at the Oscars, such as best supporting actress in a first-run commercial.

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